ED 155 924 LANGUAGE LOYALTY IN SOUTH AFRICA. VOLUME 2: USING AND IMPROVING USAGE IN THE SECOND LANGUAGE - SOME OPINIONS OF WHITE ADULTS IN URBAN AREAS. HAUPTFLEISCH, T. HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL, PRETORIA (SOUTH AFRICA). 78 187P.

1 OF 2

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 155 924 FL 009 532

AUTHOR Hauptfleisch, T.
TITLE Language Loyalty in South Africa. Volume 2: Using and Improving Usage in the Second Language - Some Opinions of White Adults in Urban Areas.
INSTITUTION Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria (South Africa).
PUB DATE 78
NOTE 187p.; Not available in paper copy due to areas of marginal print quality

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Biculturalism; *Bilingualism; Cultural Pluralism; English; English (Second Language); Ethnic Groups; *Language Attitudes; Language Dominance; Language Maintenance; Language Proficiency; *Language Research; Language Role; *Language Usage; *Official Languages; Social Science Research; Sociocultural Patterns; Sociolinguistics
IDENTIFIERS *South Africa

ABSTRACT

This report is the second in a series of four intended to study language attitudes and language maintenance among whites in the Republic of South Africa. The series is based on data provided by a large-scale survey conducted during 1973-74. The present report deals with attitudes towards using and improving usage in the second language. Questionnaires were given to a country-wide urban sample of 1,607 adult whites. The primary finding was that the same behavioral and attitudinal patterns function in both language groups, affected in much the same way by the same variables. (The four basic variables involved with and influencing these attitudes are proficiency in the second language [L2], contact with L2, socioeconomic status, and overall attitudes towards the value and status of the language and language-group concerned.) For example, both Afrikaner and English-speaking South African bilinguals tend to evince adaptive tendencies in L2 contact situations. Also, in both groups the degree of L2 proficiency is directly related to desire to improve L2, that is, the less proficient a group, the more eager they are to improve. These facts hold true only for the respondents who profess themselves to be good or fair bilinguals. (Author/CFM)

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ED155924

LANGUAGE LOYALTY IN SOUTH AFRICA

volume 2: using and improving usage in the second language – some opinions of white adults in urban areas

PS009532

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P R E F A C E

Since 1970, the Human Sciences Research Council has been engaged in a large-scale, country-wide study of the multilingual situation in South Africa, a project undertaken at the request of the then Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs (now the Minister of National Education). This project entails a detailed study of language habits, preferences, attitudes and usage among all the major population groups in the country.

Under the general title of Language Loyalty in South Africa, a series of four reports is intended to study some patterns of language attitudes and language maintenance among White adults in the urban areas of South Africa. The series is based on data provided by a large-scale survey undertaken in all the major urban areas during 1973-1974 and deals mainly with attitudes and first-language loyalties as far as English and Afrikaans, the official languages of the Republic, are concerned.

The present report deals with attitudes towards using and improving usage in the second language. The other reports in the series deal respectively with attitudes towards official language policy (Report No. 1), norms for using the second language (Report No. 3), and language maintenance, language purity and language shift (Report No. 4).

Reports on the result of similar surveys undertaken among the Black population (1975) and all in inhabitants of South West Africa (1976) are also being prepared.

A.J. van Rooy.

Acting PRESIDENT

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OPSOMMING

In hierdie verslag, die tweede in 'n reeks van vier oor taalhoudings onder Blanke volwassenes in die RSA, val die klem op houdings met betrekking tot die praat, die aanleer en die verbetering van bedrewenheid in die tweede taal (L2). Vrae soos die volgende word bespreek: Stel die respondente daarin belang om L2 te praat? Is hulle gewillig om dit in 'n kontaksituasie met L2-sprekers te gebruik? Het hulle 'n be= hoefte aan 'n aktiewe kennis van L2? Het hulle enige begeerte om L2 meer te gebruik of om hulle bedrewenheid daarin te verbeter? Soos ook in die geval van die eerste verslae het die ontleding van die gegewens aan die lig gebring dat daar veral vier basiese veranderlikes is wat taalhoudings tot 'n groot mate beïnvloed, naamlik vaar= digheid in L2, kontak met L2, sosio-ekonomiese status van die taalgebruiker, en houdings ten opsigte van die waarde en status van die betrokke taal en taalgroep.

Die gegewens wat in die verslag gebruik word, is verkry deur middel van 'n verteen= woordigende steekproef van 1 607 Blanke volwassenes vanuit die stedelike gebiede van die Republiek. Dieselfde steekproef is vir die eerste verslag (No. 1) gebruik.

Seker die belangrikste bevinding, een wat miskien teen verwagtinge in is, is dat albei taalgroepe ongeveer dieselfde houdings- en gedragspatrone openbaar, dat hulle albei naastenby op dieselfde manier beïnvloed word deur dieselfde veranderlikes. Beide Afrikaans- en ESSA-tweetaliges is byvoorbeeld geneig om in L2 te reageer wanneer hulle in dié taal aangespreek word. Ook hou die graad van L2-vaardigheid in die geval van albei groepe direk verband met 'n begeerte om L2 te verbeter - hoe minder vaardig 'n groep, hoe gretiger is hulle om te verbeter. Hierdie feit is egter slegs waar van respondente wat hulself as goed of redelik tweetalig beskou. Daar is aansienlik groter verskille in houding as mens die Afrikaners en ESSAs wat L2 slegs of glad nie praat nie, vergelyk.

Twee uiteenlopende motiveringsfaktore vir die gebruik van L2 is dan ook blykbaar ten gronde van die verskille tussen die groepe. Om dié rede sal die hieropvolgende ver= slag (No. 3) spesifiek aandag skenk aan norme en motiveringsfaktore by die praat van die tweede taal.

SUMMARY

In this volume, the second in a series of four intended to study language attitudes among Whites in the Republic of South Africa, the accent has been on attitudes towards speaking, learning and improving L2. Are the respondents interested in speaking L2? Are they willing to use it in a contact situation involving L2 speakers? Do they feel a need to have an active knowledge of L2? Do they have any desire to improve use and usage in L2? Such are the questions studied, questions which, as in Volume 1 have led to an awareness of the four basic variables involved with and influencing these attitudes: proficiency in L2, contact with L2, socio-economic status, and overall attitudes towards the value and status of the language and language-group concerned.

In dealing with these questions the responses analysed were those of a country-wide urban sample of 1 607 adult Whites. This sample was also used for the first volume (No. 1).

Perhaps the primary finding has been, contrary to initial expectations, that the same behavioral and attitudinal patterns function in both language groups, affected in much the same way by the same variables. For example, both Afrikaner and ESSA bilinguals tend to evince adaptive tendencies in L2 contact situations. (i.e. they respond in L2 when addressed in it). So too, in both groups the degree of L2 proficiency is directly related to desire to improve L2 - the less proficient a group, the more eager they are to improve.

These facts only hold true for the respondents who profess themselves to be good or fair bilinguals. There are rather more marked differences in attitude when one compares Afrikaners and ESSAs who speak L2 poorly or not at all. The differences that exist are related to what appear to be fundamentally different motivations for learning and using L2. For this reason the next volume in this series (No. 3) is to pay particular attention norms and motivations for speaking the second language.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 LANGUAGE LOYALTY : BACKGROUND AND CONCEPTS*

1.1.1 Background

South Africa is constitutionally a bilingual (and, in certain areas, potentially multilingual) country. This means that the two official languages, namely English and Afrikaans, are to "be treated on a footing of equality, and possess and enjoy equal freedom, rights and priviliges." (Act No. 32 of 1961, Section 108).

Such a constitutional base is intended to preserve the freedom of language choice, not to enforce a choice. Thus, the choice of language identity, the desire to leave or improve knowledge of a language, the willingness to speak a language, is free - up to a point. All children do have to learn both official languages at school, but that is as far as coercion to bilingualism goes. Once free of the school, no person is in any way officially obliged to actually use any one of the languages. In other words, the majority of White South Africans are, theoretically speaking at least, bilingual when they leave school. They also come into contact with numerous L2** speakers in their daily lives.

What are their reactions to a contact situation with L2 speakers? That is the first question this report seeks to answer. Would the average South African employ his second language or his first language?

The answer to this question gives some idea as to how the person feels about his second language - as well as his first language at times. In section 4 the attitude towards L2 is studied from a related angle: How keen is he to improve his proficiency in the language? This too is a measure of his goodwill towards the other official language.

Both these aspects form essential elements of the problem of language loyalty in a bilingual and bicultural country. This is particularly true of a country such as South Africa, where language identity is of such importance.

The composition of South African society is such that it falls naturally into four principal categories, normally typified as White, Coloured, Asian and Black (Bantu) groups. These major groups however also consist of various sub-groups (or ethno-political units) which make up distinct cultural entities, *clustered around a particular language of identity.*

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*A fuller discussion of the implications held by any study of attitudes and the rationale for the type of questions employed in this survey is contained in Volume I, Section 1.3.2., of this series.

**I.e. "second-language speakers." cf. 1.1.3

For purposes of research and comparison therefore, the reports make a distinction between the four major ethnic groups: Whites, Coloureds, Asians and Blacks. This, the first series of reports, deals with the White English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking adults in urban areas.

The majority of Whites in South Africa speak one of the two official languages, English or Afrikaans, or both. But language has a deeper significance in the relations between these two groups. It is in this respect that Bettina J. Huber has called language "the traditional South African polariser". This fact is borne out by a study among White South African elites (Van der Merwe, *et al*, 1974, pp. 153-4) and it is difficult to deny that language identity has historically proved to be the single most effective token of ethnic solidarity in this country. Language identity forms one of the three basic characteristics of the Afrikaner as usually defined, along with religious affiliation and political affiliation (Van der Merwe, 1974, pp. 32 - 34; 155 - 156). A similar, easily identified pattern does not exist among English-speaking South Africans today.

Thus basically, in studying attitudes and concepts concerning language in South Africa it must be remebered that one is dealing with two different sets of values, social norms and socio-historic traditions, and that the factor one is studying - language - is the most important dividing factor.

In this context the willingness to use and to improve one's use and usage of the second language is an important indicator of group solidarity and inter-group relations.

1.1.2 Terms and concepts

For the sake of clarity it may be well if brief definitions of a few key concepts, as they are employed in the body of this study, were provided.

Firstly, *attitude* will be used for the deep-seated and private "state of readiness" or "propensity to act in a certain way" as described by Allport's definition, while *opinion* will be used to indicate the more public *i.e.* more easily expressed and more easily influenced belief, attitude or value. Opinions too are important for they create the climate within which the deeper founded attitudes are formed. In a direct questionnaire what one normally gets is opinions, not true attitudes.

A *stereotype* is seen in Rokeach's terms as "a socially shared belief that described an attitude object in an oversimplified or undifferentiated manner" (Rokeach, 1969, p. 125). In other words, the public opinion of society in general, as contrasted to the opinion of each individual within that society. Stereotypes too are very important to the formation of the social climate within which language preferences act.

A type of attitude often referred to today is *prejudice*, a specialised form which is perhaps best defined by Allport: "Ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group." (1954, p. 9). It will be employed in this way.

Finally, language loyalty has been defined, but within it two concepts need to be established and named: *language identification* and *mother tongue*. In the context of this study, when an English speaker is spoken of, the reference is to one who speaks English as a home language, who has identified himself as an English speaker. Respondents in the survey were obliged to select either an English or Afrikaans questionnaire for completion on the basis of their language identification. This in itself is an expression of attitude. The whole problem of *language shift*, which is a basic indication of a shift in allegiance or loyalty, is linked to language identity. *First language* is normally used to mean *Language of identification*. *Mother tongue* is only used where it is in actual fact his mother's language that he is using.

1.1.3 Some abbreviations

To avoid the clumsy terminological circumscriptions of "English-speaking South African" and "Afrikaans-speaking South African", the abbreviations *ESSA*, popularised by the 1820 Settlers' Conference held in Grahamstown (1974), and Afrikaner are used in the report. In contrast the term *the British* indicates non-South Africans from the British Isles, even though they may be living in South Africa as temporary residents. A plural form for ESSA, namely ESSAs, is used.

A few other abbreviations have also been introduced:

L1 = language of identification, first language
L2 = second language, the other official language
L3 = third language, any language other than Afrikaans or English
A = Afrikaans
E = English
A/E = Afrikaans and English
A/E/B = Afrikaans, English and a Bantu language

1.2 AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN THE R.S.A.

1.2.1 The Sample and Survey

During the course of 1973 and early 1974 the fieldwork on which this survey is based was completed. A random sample of one in every 375 names was drawn from the latest (1972) voters' roll, concentrating on White South African

citizens living in urban areas with populations of more than 10 000 inhabitants. This limitation was set since about 86,8% of the White population is urban* and because language shift and contact is most likely to occur in the high density areas. This provided us with a target number of 2 000 respondents as well as a number of reserves to provide for losses through deaths, migrations, rejections and similar hazards.

Of the total sample approximately 4/5ths (1607) was finally contacted. Each respondent received a letter explaining the purpose of the survey and asking for co-operation. Following this a fieldworker arranged for an interview where two questionnaires were completed by the respondent and samples of his language use (in both English and Afrikaans) were recorded on tape.

The questionnaires sought to elicit information on the various functions for which the respondent uses the two languages (in written and spoken forms), his proficiency in the second language and his language loyalty. The second questionnaire concentrated on reading and book-buying habits. The tape-recordings were intended for two purposes: firstly to get a sample of the respondent's L1 use and secondly, to get a sample of L2 use for later intensive analysis, against the background of the respondent's L1 use.

Such was the general project. In Appendix I tables are provided to give a breakdown of the sample, according to a number of standard social variables.

1.2.2 The Attitude Questions

The questions on which the following interpretations are based were contained in the questionnaire entitled "The use of English and Afrikaans in the urban areas of South Africa",** which also included a biographical section providing information on the person's sex, age, marital status, highest educational qualification, church affiliation, occupation, income, city of residence and period of residence there, other places of residence, origin and language identity of parents and grandparents and finally his own language identity as well as that of his wife and children.

The various questions were set to elicit opinions and attitudes on a number of cardinal facets of language loyalty and language use, either directly or indirectly. The facets are:

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* Based on 1970 Census figures

** Cf. Appendix II in Volume 1.

(a) The importance of the two languages in general, for all citizens;
(b) the personal importance which the languages have for the respondent;
(c) the respondent's norms for using the two languages and his motivations;
(d) the language 'loyalty' of the respondent, his language identity.

In the discussions to follow the questions are not categorised rigidly according to the scheme provided above, but are employed as needed.

It must also be emphasized that it has not been the intention of this project to design an *attitude* or *language loyalty scale*. Selection, assessment and rejection of attitude questions were done on the basis of the required information, the previous experience of other researchers and the experience gained from reactions in the pilot study.*

1.2.3 The Variables

The variables employed in this report are the following: Language identity, sex, age, socio-economic status, bilinguality, language background, language experience, language environment and present area of residence.

While these variables are fully discussed in Volume I, the less well-known may briefly be described here:

(a) Socio-economic status

It was hypothesized that status of the family to which the individual respondent belongs would have a significant effect on his or her attitudes. Fortunately there was already at hand an index of socio-economic status for South African conditions evolved by H.G. Strijdom of the HSRC. He took the three indices (educational level, occupation and income) and worked out a cumulative score for each. Thus an average social status score could be had by the following formula: $\Sigma\frac{\text{EO I}}{3}$. The rationale behind this can be found in Strijdom, 1971.

For purposes of this study the threefold index was not quite suitable, but one based on educational level and occupation alone could be used easily enough. Income was left out because income levels have changed so rapidly in the past years that they cannot be considered a reliable reflection of socio-economic class over any extended period of time. Furthermore there is the problem that many respondents did not reveal their incomes.

So, by a simple adjustment, Strijdom's scale was adapted to employ only educational level and occupation. providing a useful scale of three socio-economic levels which I have termed *upper class, middle class and lower class*.

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* Cf. Volume 1 of this series for some more details. The pilot study is that of K.P. Prinsloo (1972).

(b) Bilinguality

A *bilinguality scale* was devised in an attempt to ascertain whether attitudes towards the second language may be correlated. This measure was arrived at by a recodification of question 20. This is an assessment by the respondent of his own language proficiency according to three elements: pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar.

The responses were recoded into a four-point scale with the following categories: *Good, Fair, Weak, Unable to Speak L2.* This means that what we have eventually is a scale indicating people with good or exceptional bilingual ability (*i.e.* theoretically, *in their own estimation* speaking both languages equally well), people with fair bilingual ability (*i.e.* able to speak both languages, but the second only "acceptably" well), people with weak bilingual ability (*i.e.* barely bilingual, whose second language use is "not quite acceptable", but still able to get by in restricted circumstances) and people who are unilingual (*i.e.* unable to speak the second language at all).

The term *bilingual* and *bilinguality* is used here in a sense limited strictly on two points:

Firstly it is confined to the South African situation. The person is bilingual or unilingual only in terms of *Afrikaans* and *English*, although this does not imply that he knows only one language. A person may be a fluent English/French bilingual but be considered *unilingual* for this study because he cannot speak Afrikaans. In general discussions of international findings and theories of bilingualism, this restriction cannot apply, it is only for the data of this particular survey that the restriction is needed.

A second limitation may more properly be seen as a working definition of bilinguality for this survey: A person is deemed *bilingual* if he is able to carry on a conversation (*i.e.* understand, respond to and contribute to the conversation) in his second language. Such a definition presupposes various *degrees* of bilinguality, measured in comparison to the person's proficiency in the first language.* Our somewhat elementary scale is an attempt to cater for such diversity.

What this definition excludes however is *passive* command of the second language (reading or mere understanding). While our scale, based on command of grammar and vocabulary, may also elicit answers based on passive command (the item pronunciation would have been a control here, but was poorly responded to), the question was framed in such a way as to elicit response only with respect to conversation:

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* This scale is a 'self-evaluative' one. The tape-recorded conversations between respondents and interviewers are to be objectively assessed by qualified judges and the results will appear in a later publication. It will be interesting to compare the correllations of those "objective" assessments and the attitude questions, with the correllations to be drawn with the scale discussed in this report. Unfortunately the objective bilingualism score is not available yet.

"30 How well can you speak Afrikaans when suddenly presented with the opportunity of conversing for a minute or two with a stranger on a topic which you know well and can talk about? Please indicate, by means of crosses, how good your usage would be as far as pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar are concerned:"

(c) Language background, language experience and language environment.

A tremendous influence on attitudes - which are part and parcel of the personality of the respondent - is exerted by his social milieu: thus the concern with status. Also the concern with environment. In the case of language a number of environmental influences may affect his feelings about the particular languages, especially the amount and type of contact he has had with the language at various stages in his life.

For the purpose of this investigation we distinguish three stages of linguistic influence : language background (*i.e.* the language spoken at home and in the neighbourhood up to 18 years of age), early language experience (the extent to which the second language was used in the society in which the respondent has lived and worked since childhood) and language environment (*i.e.* the present position).

To facilitate the use of these stages as variables, a number of re-computations of answers to specific questions were made so as to derive four scores: one each for language background (based on questions 2 and 3), earlier language experience (questions 3 and 4), language environment (question 14) and present city of residence.

The Language background scale as used makes provision for six variations of background. They are:

1 unilingual L1 home, often spoke L2
2 unilingual L1 home, occasionally spoke L2
3 unilingual L1 home, never spoke L2
4 mixed L1 & L2 home, often spoke L2
5 mixed L1 & L2 home, occasionally spoke L2
6 unilingual L2 home, often spoke L2*

---

* This group has undergone a language shift, and therefore the language background description here is not quite comparable to that of the other groups, since L2 here signifies the respondent's former language identity. More will be said of this factor in Report No. 4 in this series.

The Language experience scale has four categories:

1 = spoke L2 outside the classroom up to 18 years of age and also later because of the environment in which he lived or worked

2 = spoke L2 outside the classroom up to 28 years of age, but not later

3 = did not speak L2 outside the classroom before 18 years of age, but did later because of the environment in which he lived or worked

4 = did not speak L2 at any time outside the classroom or in any environment in which he lived or worked.

The present Language environment is more complex, consisting of a nine point index:

1 = Do not use L2 for this purpose
2 = Occasionally have the opportunity to have brief and casual conversations in L2
3 = Occasionally have the opportunity to have brief and casual as well as serious conversations in L2
4 = Often have the opportunity to have brief and casual conversations in L2
5 = Often have the opportunity to have casual conversations in L2 Occasionally have the opportunity for serious conversations
6 = Often have the opportunity to have both casual and serious conversations in L2
7 = Occasionally have the opportunity to have serious conversations in L2
8 = Often have the opportunity to have serious conversations in L2
9 = Occasionally have the opportunity to have casual conversations in L2, and often to have serious conversations.

(d) Present city of residence

Lastly we look at the present city/urban area in which the respondent resides. These areas have been classfied, according to their language "colour"*, into 15 areas. Seven of these are used in the discussions. They are: Pretoria, Johannesburg, The Vaal Triangle, Bloemfontein, Natal, The Eastern Cape and

*This concept, devised by K.P. Prinsloo, is an expression, by means of a simple percentage, of the ratio of Afrikaans-speaking inhabitants to the total White population of any city. Calculated by the following formula:

$$\text{Language colour} = \frac{\text{No. Afr. inhabitants}}{\text{Total No. inhabitants (Eng. + Afr.)}} \times 100$$

The data used for this purpose were those of the 1960 census, the most recent available at the time.

Cape Town.

The above are the variables according to which the attitude questions are to be discussed in the following chapters. The way in which they are to be employed and interpreted will depend on the questions and the findings themselves. However, it must be pointed out here that because of the size and distribution of the sample, and the type of deductions made, it was not felt wise to study too many variables together. For particular reasons therefore each variable will be studied separately, the only additional factor taken into account being the basic division between ESSAs and Afrikaners.

2. THE QUESTIONS ON WILLINGNESS TO USE L2

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In South African cities people daily find themselves in situations where they have to use L2, or at least where they are able to use L2 if they should wish to. This is well illustrated by the finding that of the total of 1607 people questioned in the survey, a full 80% (i.e. 1285 respondents from both language groups) indicated that they have opportunities of using their second language in their daily lives, at least in casual and brief conversations. If conversations of a more serious nature are considered the number drops considerably to 784 (48,8%).*

The majority of the respondents come into contact with the second language from day to day and are presented with occasions when they have to decide whether to speak the second language, or whether to continue in their mother tongue. The decision involves two fundamental factors which each speaker would naturally bring into play: his own ability to speak the second language, and his attitude towards speaking the second language. Either of the two factors could be decisive on its own, but I believe that quite often they are integrally related, lack of proficiency causing a negative attitude, or *vice versa*. Obviously the decision would be complicated further by other factors, notably the topic of conversation and the social situation, factors which demand closer analysis later.

Because it is generally held that experience is the best teacher of language proficiency, the willingness to make use of opportunities to speak the second language may be seen as an expression of goodwill, or positive attitude, towards the language. In fact the expression of a desire to improve standard

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*Cf. Table F/1

of usage, be it formally or simply by means of conversation, and the readiness to employ the second language could be taken as a measure of positive attitude to the language.

A number of questions dealing with willingness to speak L2 and improve L2 usage have been scattered throughout the questionnaire. In the ensuing discussion the various questions are discussed together, rather than singly, in an attempt to derive a pattern which would indicate existing attitudes towards L2. This is done in order to control for the many variables which may influence the decision whether to speak (or attempt to improve proficiency in) a language. Unsatisfactory as this is as an absolute control, it should at least provide some indications of the attitudinal climate within which the two official languages must co-exist and prosper.

Two aspects of this attitude are to be considered: willingness to speak the second language and wish to improve usage. They will be separately studied in the following two sections and then related in the final section of Section 3. Volume 3 will thereupon pay more specific attention to the norms for speaking the second language (why does the respondent use his second language?).

2.2 THE QUESTIONS AND TOTAL RESULTS

Four questions were selected for this section: numbers 34, 14, 48 and 47 (in that order).

Question 34 reads as follows:

> If you do not often have the chance to speak Afrikaans, do you think that, given more apportunities to do so, you would make greater use of Afrikaans?

Not applicable, already speak it often
Yes, I would like to speak it more often
No, I don't think I would really try to speak it more often

This question is quite simply intended to ascertain how many respondents, irrespective of present situation, feel they would like to speak the second language more often. Of course, as with so many attitude questions, this one is also hypothetical as far as the respondent is concerned, and the interpretation and response will be based on data of which the researcher is unaware, (e.g. what does "not often have the chance" mean to the respondent?). However, the question was purposely set in this way, allowing the respondent to read the questions in the light of his own particular experience,

for it is virtually impossible to define such concepts as "speak .... more often" and "often have the chance" *in abstracto*. It was hoped that the relatively straightforward nature of this self-evaluative question would pose few problems to the respondents and this proved to be the case. In fact only 2,9% of the universum did not respond to the question, while 35,3% felt that the question did not apply to them, since they already speak it often. (Predictably, this percentage is much higher for the Afrikaners than for the ESSA s: 39,5% as opposed to 29,6% respectively.)

The main fact is that the purpose of this question is *not* to ascertain how many people do not speak enough L2, but how many people *feel* they do not speak enough L2 and are prepared to *do* something about it. For this purpose the question proved quite useful and revealing. When only those who feel they do not have enough opportunities to speak the second language are considered (61,8% of universum), 71,4% indicate that they would like to speak the second language more often (Table A/1).*

The next question used here is in actual fact part of the census section of the questionnaire, concerned with how often and for what purposes the second language is used by the respondent. Question 14 reads as follows:

Do you:

(a) Have brief and casual conversations in Afrikaans with Afrikaans-speaking people?

(b) Have serious conversations in Afrikaans?

The possible answers were:

Seldom/Never use the language for this purpose
Occasionally have the opportunity but seldom/never make use of it
Occasionally have the opportunity and do actually make use of it
Often have the opportunity but seldom/never make use of it
Often have the opportunity and occasionally make use of it
Often have the opportunity and usually make use of it

As can be seen, the question allows the respondent to provide two types of information in one question, namely the extent to which he has the *opportunity* of speaking the second language and the extent to which he *makes use* of such opportunities. By selective reading and calculation any of these aspects can of course be drawn from the responses, (as was done in the introduction to this section) and it is by this means that the following estimate of

*Tables identified by a capital letter of the alphabet are contained in Appendix II. Tables identified by a numeral are given in the text.

willingness to speak the second language was arrived at. Table B/1 was the result.*

To start with, the first option (Seldom/Never use the language for this purpose,) was removed, since this is an ambiguous possibility, related to not having the opportunity for speaking the language. In other words a respondent could have selected this option to indicate lack of opportunity to speak the second language (which is its original intention), but also to indicate that he seldom makes use of the language in this social sphere. In any case, the removal of this option leaves us with only those respondents who *do* have an opportunity of speaking the second language. Once this option was removed and a table drawn up to isolate all those respondents who are given the opportunity of speaking the second language (options 2-6), they were arranged into three groups according to the extent to which the respondents actually made use of the opportunities (*make use of it*, options 3, and 6; *occasionally make use of it*, option 5; *seldom/never make use of it*, options 2 and 6).

The result of this realignment of options is illustrated by the following extract from table B/1:

TABLE 2/1

EXTENT TO WHICH RESPONDENTS MAKE USE OF OPPORTUNITIES TO HAVE BRIEF AND CASUAL CONVERSATIONS IN THE SECOND LANGUAGE

Make use of opportunities	83,7%
Occasionally make use of them	6,1%
Do not make use of them	10,2%
THE RESULTS FOR SERIOUS CONVERSATIONS:	
Make use of opportunities	78,1%
Occasionally make use of them	7,4%
Do not make use of them	14,5%

While the purpose of the questions may have been fairly obvious to any thinking respondent, it was hoped that most of them would see the purpose rather as an attempt to obtain the actual behaviour patterns of the populace (which it also was), than a probe to find the motives behind the actions. Fortunately experience in the field revealed no adverse reactions to the questions, and I believe we obtained a fairly straightforward response to the questions, despite the relatively complex way in which they were set.

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*Cf. Appendix II

The rationale for the use of this question is to be found in the often observed fact that expressions of attitude and behavioural tendencies do not necessarily correspond. In an attempt to approach closer to actual behaviour tendencies, this question is intended to allow the researcher to deduce attitudes by studying the reported behaviour patterns of the respondents. This is basically a Behaviourist approach to the problem, in contrast to the direct attitude (e.g. 34), which may be typified as Mentalist in approach. (See Agheyisti and Fishman, 1970, pp. 137-139 on this). The point is that, by using both questions 34 and 14, we attempt to cater for both the respondent's formal professed belief (would you like to ....?) and his expression of attitude through behaviour.

Unfortunately, the design of the present project did not allow the application of more directly behaviour based measures, such as commitment measures,* and question 14 remains the nearest we could come to assessing the respondent's actual practice as a response to attitudes. In our question the interdependence of attitudes, the demands of the situations, and the fact that the respondent had to give a single response to account for his total social experience of conversations in L2, warn that inordinate care must be taken in the interpretation of these findings. They are quite simply to be seen as weather-vanes, not absolute measures.

Nevertheless, although numerous researchers agree with Fishman's empiric finding that "most types of questionnaires are inadequate for data relating to anticipatory behaviour", even Fishman has to admit that the questionnaire is generally adequate enough to collect data about attitudinal criteria.** So, while the information provided by these two questions must not be seen as absolute measures of potential language behaviours in South African society (and what attitudinal data can claim the distinction?), the criteria elicited may yet point to significant factors that help to create the widely held stereotyped opinions concerning the two languages, their roles and desirability, and thus, indirectly, tend to influence the growth or decline of the official languages in South Africa.

Two other questions relevant to this section, and related to the respondent's own language oriented behaviour, are the following:

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* Devised by J.A. Fishman and associates (cf Fishman, 1969), these measures attempt to probable overt behaviour instead of generalized attitudes *towards* behaviour.

** Adorno, 1950, p.4; Cook and Sellitz, 1964, pp.325-6; Lambert and Lambert, 1964, p.53; Lambert *et al*, pp. 479-480; Osgood *et al*, 1957, p. 198; Agheyisti and Fishman, 1970, p.149.

48 When you are addressed in fluent Afrikaans by an unknown person:

Do you immediately reply in English?
Do you answer in Afrikaans or try to get as far as possible with Afrikaans?

47 Do you sometimes consciously avoid a situation because you know that you would be expected to speak Afrikaans?

YES
NO

They are added because they cast light on the findings of question 14.

Question 48 is a simplification of question 45 in the pilot study (Prinsloo, 1972) where the purpose of the question is described as being to test a hypothesis that Afrikaans students more easily switch over to their second language than do English students. Basically the purpose of the question remains the same. Again this question has the one limitation, forced on all questions included in an already overlong questionnaire: it compels the respondent to formulate a single reply for the many possible reactions to the many possible situations implied by the simple test situation: "When you are addressed in fluent Afrikaans ....". In this respect question 14 must serve as a strong balancing factor.

Two possible interpretations can be placed on the data provided by question 48. Firstly a tendency to switch may be seen as a willingness to speak L2, as an indication of a positive attitude to using the second language. However from the L1 point of view the willingness can also be interpreted pejoratively, as being a negative attitude towards the first language.

In South African context, particularly Afrikaner context, a tendency to switch to the second language is often seen in the latter way, and not without some justification either, taking into account the numerical minority of the Afrikaans speakers when weighed against the number of speakers of English in the world, the historical and cultural weight of English, and particularly, till of late, the prestige attached to English.

Seen in this light question 48, though quite simple, provides information of cardinal value in the discussion of language loyalty in South African terms. In fact it may be seen as epitomizing, for the Afrikaner, the central quality of language loyalty: speak Afrikaans on all occasions, for all purposes. In this light the question will be discussed again in volume 4. What concerns us

here is the basic willingness to speak the language, as an expression of goodwill towards the second language and a wish to learn it.

Question 47 was added to study another common reactionary tendency in multilingual societies, namely evasion tactics. It is possible in a dual society such as that of South Africa to limit one's contact with the other language group to the absolute minimum. (Witness the many societies and clubs that come in both English and Afrikaans versions, e.g. automobile associations, fishing clubs, photographic societies, the English and Afrikaans school systems, the English and Afrikaans chambers of commerce, etc. Friends can be selected, even employers, most of the time.) To what extent are such evasion tactics common practice and *admitted as such* by the respondents?

Of course in this question too, as in all the foregoing, the major consideration is no doubt the ability of the individual respondent to speak the second language, but, since practice is here being interpreted as a means of improving such ability, the fact is not felt as a fetter on the serviceability of the questions.

3. ATTITUDES TOWARD SPEAKING L2 - RESULTS

3.1 TOTAL RESPONSES

In general the pattern of attitudes towards speaking the second language is, briefly, as follows: a large number of respondents feel that they do not get enough opportunities to speak the second language, (61,8%) and of them quite a number (71,4%) would like to have more opportunities of doing so. However, the numbers who *do not* wish to speak it more often are disconcertingly high (28,6%). If we look at the number of people from both language groups who in their daily lives make use of opportunities to speak the second language, the situation is somewhat better, only 10,2% not making use of such opportunities. (It might be that they do not see such occasions as opportunities, but as unfortunate unavoidabilities?) Even more encouraging is the fact that only 14,5% of those who have opportunities for serious conversation in the second language, do not make use of them. Where serious conversation is somewhat more difficult to manage than social chit-chat of a certain elementary order (depending on how the respondent interprets "casual" and "serious"), the tendency for evasion should normally be more intense in this sphere. A closer study of Table B/1 supports this contention. The differences between the results of sub-tables B/1 (A) and B/1 (B) are large enough to be significant.

Nevertheless, even in view of this significant difference, a total of 85,5% yes-responses remains high enough to lead to a tentative assertion that the large majority of the sample do make use of any given opportunities for speaking the second language, a fact which is positive enough to support the very strong pro-bilingualism feelings found in the previous Volume.

Apparently then, while their attitudes are often not as powerful as to lead to a definite wish for more opportunities for speaking the second language, most people, when actually faced by a situation in which they have to speak the language, do so. This finding is substantiated by the results of question 48, where 91,4% (cf. Table C/1) indicated that, when addressed in fluent Afrikaans or English (i.e. their L2), they respond in that language. This is the more remarkable for the fact that only 18 of the 1607 respondents did not answer this question.

On the other hand, 26,4% of the respondents are actually prepared to admit that they sometimes consciously avoid situations in which they might be expected to speak the second language (cf. Table D/1). In other words, while many people speak the language when faced by the situation, quite a large number (more than 26%) feel no real need to speak the language and attempt to avoid such situations. Which would seem to indicate that for almost a third of the population occasions for speaking the second language are not opportunities, but something else (challenges, stumbling blocks, irritations, potential dangers perhaps, something unavoidable or avoidable according to the individual's own situation at any rate).

3.2 THE VARIABLES: LANGUAGE IDENTITY*

The extent to which the two language groups subscribe to these attitudes, is given in the following table:

TABLE 3/1**

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE WILLINGNESS TO SPEAK THE SECOND LANGUAGE

Number of respondents who:	Afrikaners	ESSAs
Would speak L2 more if given the opportunity	73,0%	69,5%
Make use of Casual opportunities for speaking L2	91,8%	86,0%
Make use of Serious opportunities for speaking L2	87,2%	82,7%
Reply in L2 when addressed in it	95,5%	86,1%
Do not avoid situations in which one would have to speak the second language	75,8%	70,7%

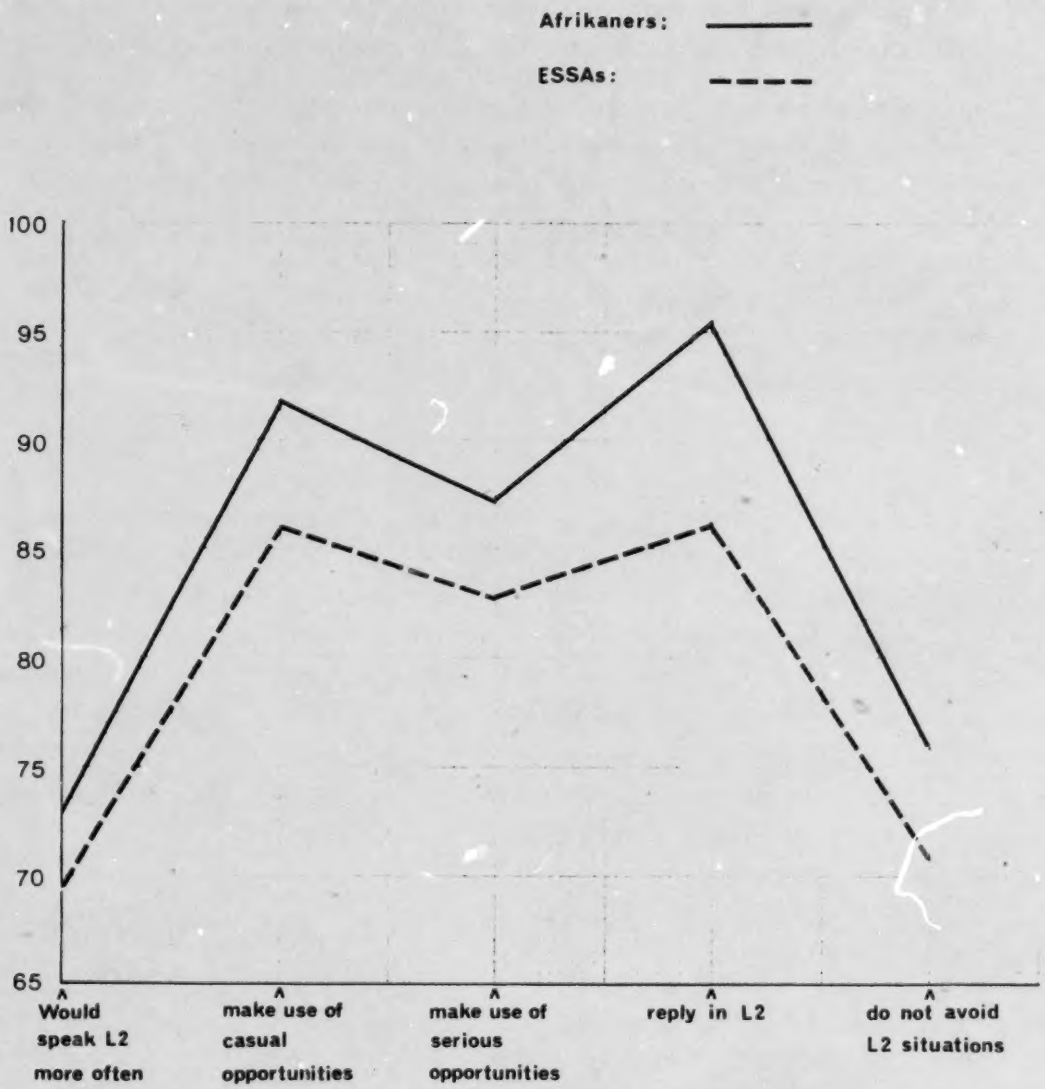
There is a very obvious difference between these two groups in all the cases, the ESSAs being markedly less willing to use the second language. Graphically respresented this table's data is even more interesting:

*In this report the use of statistical test of significance is limited to the occasional application of the X^2-test. Therefore the results must be seen as indications of tendencies in this sample only, and not as absolute facts regarding the total population.

**Based on Tables A/1, B/1, C/1 and D/1.

GRAPH 3/1

THE PATTERNS OF YES-RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON WILLINGNESS TO SPEAK L2: BY LANGUAGE



While a significantly larger percentage of the ESSAs (between 3,5% and 9,4% more) indicate an unwillingness to speak the second language, the patterns over the five questions are remarkably similar. So it would appear that the correlation between attitudes towards speaking the language and actual behaviour in the face of an inevitable situation are basically the same for the two language groups. Both Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking South Africans tend to profess more antipathy to speaking L2 than they actually give vent to when faced with an occasion where they would be obliged to use L2. On the other hand, many again from both groups attempt to evade such occasions wherever possible.

Even more to the point is that the largest differences between the two groups appear at the behavioural level, particularly on the question of language used when replying to a person addressing one in the second language. Thus, it would seem that in the normal process of social intercourse the Afrikaner respondents are more prepared to accommodate themselves to the situation than The ESSAs. This finding, which appears to support the expectations of cultural leaders among the Afrikaners,* can have a variety of causes, some of which are to be considered below.

3.3 BILINGUALITY

Perhaps the foremost factor regarding the willingness to speak L2 in a contact situation with L2 speakers is the individual's ability to speak the language in question. Taking the Bilinguality index** as a self-evaluational measure of such ability, it is significant to note that the Afrikaner is (on own assessment) far more bilingual that the ESSAs, for only 0,5% of them indicate that they *cannot* speak their second language, in contrast to 7,9% of the ESSAs; furthermore only 19,1% of the Afrikaners, but 37,3% of the ESSAs indicate that their proficiency in the language is *weak* (Table E/1). This most salient point is perhaps best studied by means of Tables A/4, B/4, C/4 and D/4, as summarized below in Table 3/2.

TABLE 3/2

The number of respondents who are *good* or *fair* in the second language and	Afrikaners good/fair	Afrikaners (weak)	ESSAs good/fair	ESSAs (weak)
Would speak L2 more if given the opportunity	79,9%	(60,3)	79,6%	(67,9)
Make use of Casual opportunities for speaking L2	92,8%	(66,4)	91,4%	(51,9)
Make use of Serious opportunities for speaking L2	83,9%	(43,3)	84,4%	(38,6)
Reply in L2 when addressed in it	98,6%	(87,5)	99,1%	(83,4)
Do not avoid situations in which one would have to speak the second language	83,7%	(46,6)	89,9%	(48,5)

* Cf the Introduction to Volume 4, where these issues are discussed.

** Cf Section 1.2.3 (b).

Should those respondents speak L2 poorly or are unable to speak it be left out of the reckoning, a remarkable change comes over the response patterns. Comparing the language groups one finds that the former differences in response have now completely disappeared and the groups are almost equally prepared to use L2. This is so for almost all the measures, except for the desire to avoid contact situations, where the ESSAS, contrary to the findings of Table 3/1, prove the least prone to evasion tactics. In other words the data would suggest that *in a contact situation* the bilingual ESSA is just as likely to use Afrikaans as the Afrikaner is to use English. What is then easily and often taken for a sign of disloyalty to Afrikaans*, may in fact be a common social behaviour pattern among bilinguals - of Afrikaner, ESSA or any other descent. This finding will be of crucial importance when the concepts of language loyalty, language maintenance, and language shift are discussed (Volume 4 of this series).

Of greater concern for the present is the fact that language proficiency does have a marked effect on these expressions of attitude. As has been stated before, the discussion concerns the willingness to speak the second language, with such willingness related to a desire to improve or get to know the second language. Obviously, the most logical group to turn to would be those who, by own confession (cf. question 30), are unable to speak te second language, or speak it but poorly. The percentages for those who gave themselves a *weak* bilingual rating are given in brackets in table 3/2. Here we once again find differences between the two language groups and the differences are sharp. Remarkable is that so many of the respondents (more than 80%, nearer 90% in the case of the Afrikaners) maintain that they respond in L2 when addressed in it, even though assessing their proficiency as *weak*. (Percentages reach almost 100% if the more proficient are taken). In fact this reaction corresponds very well with the findings of a closer study of behavioural response undertaken below, where 90% of both language groups proved willing to speak L2 when asked to do so in a structured public situation, irrespective of their bilinguality. While not directly comparable, both results do appear to highlight an absence of any general hardened antipathy to speaking L2 in South African society.

It should be remembered that it is only at the point of confrontation that the two groups evince such a degree of willingness to speak L2. When given the choice of speaking the language or avoiding it, the percentages of those willing to try drop markedly to between 38,6% and 67,9% for the various questions. So the willingness to employ the language is less easily confessed to than is the preparedness to use it when the need arises.

Most interesting in these responses of the weak bilinguals (Table 3/2) is the different patterns found among the two language groups. Whereas the Afrikaners

* See Volume 4 for a discussion of such reactions among Afrikaners.

make more use of opportunities for using L2, the ESSAs express interest in speaking it often and are more willing to face contact situations where they may have to speak it.

When one considers some of the possible factors behind these differences, another valuable set of data is generated. For instance, one hypothesis may read as follows:

For the Afrikaner, it is important that he remain loyal to his mother tongue, and therefore he may pay lip-service to the concept of language loyalty by denying a wish to speak the second language more often.* The ESSA on the other hand has other traditions that are stronger. Perhaps something like a democratic awareness of the rights of others, or a simple sense of politeness, will cause him to express a willingness to speak the second language, but when faced by the occasion, he will be overwhelmed by stronger factors (such as a sensitivity to making himself appear ridiculous, or a sense of insecurity regarding his proficiency). These may easily cause him to refuse to speak the other language. Whether such sensitivity is really much more marked among the ESSAs, may be partially tested by studying the number of ESSA respondents who were prepared to speak on tape when requested to do so by the field-worker.** Table 3/3 provides comparative data in this regard.

TABLE 3/3

THE NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ON TAPE WHO WERE PREPARED TO SPEAK THE SECOND LANGUAGE

	Afrikaners		ESSAs		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
YES	697	90,4%	520	83,6%	1217	87,4%
NO	74	9,6%	102	16,4%	176	12,6%
TOTAL	771	100,0%	622	100,0%	1393	100,0%

From this table it would seem that the Afrikaners are generally more prepared to speak the second language, even in the highly artificial situation of the tape-recorded interview used in this survey, which is patently not to be considered an "opportunity" as meant in Question 14.

This table takes no account of the very important fact that 7,9% of the ESSAS, in contrast to only 0,5% of the Afrikaners are unable to speak the second language (Table E/1). Obviously such respondents would not have spoken in their second language. For this reason another table was deduced from the

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* Cf. Volume 4 in this series.

** For a description of the technique, cf. Section 1.2.1

above data, by means of the following computation:*

$R1(\frac{P}{100} \times T) = R2$

This gives the following data :

TABLE 3/4

THE NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ABLE TO SPEAK L2, WHO WERE PREPARED TO SPEAK IT ON TAPE

	Afrikaners		ESSAs		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
YES	697	90,9%	520	90,4%	1217	90,7%
NO	70	9,1%	55	9,6%	125	9,3%
TOTAL	767	100,0%	575	100,0%	1342	100,0%

As in table 3/2, the removal of those unable to speak the language again indicates that there is basically little difference between the two language groups as far as willingness to speak the second language is concerned. In both cases, only a small percentage of respondents were *not* willing to speak the second language, even when faced by the actual need to, as represented by the request to provide the fieldworker with a sample of speech.

So it would seem that contrary to expectation, the ESSA is no more sensitive to speaking his second language in a public contact situation than is the Afrikaner, and only *appears* to be more unwilling to speak the second language because of a much larger group who *cannot* speak the second language. In other words the unwillingness has a base in the learning of the language, rather than in the attitude towards speaking the language once learnt. This pattern will be looked at again in the next section (4).

3.4 SEX DIFFERENCES

While there is little difference between the sex groups as far as wish to speak the two languages is concerned, there is a definite difference when one considers the actual use that is made of opportunities.

** R1 = Original number of refusals, P = percentage unable to speak L2, T = number of recordings made, and R2 = netto number of refusals.

TABLE 3/5*

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE WILLINGNESS TO SPEAK THE SECOND LANGUAGE

	Men	Women
Would speak L2 more if given the opportunity	70,9%	71,7%
Make use of Casual opportunities for speaking L2	90,9%	88,9%
Make use of Serious opportunites for speaking L2	87,5%	82,7%
Reply in L2 when addressed in it	95,5%	89,0%
Do not avoid situations in which one would have to speak the second language	78,8%	70,7%

Apparently women are less inclined to employ the second language on such occasions than men. Should the proficiency of men and women be compared**, it becomes clear that many more women than men are either unable to speak the second language or speak it weakly. (22,9% of the men, 33,7% of the women).

Again the apparent close relationship between language proficiency and willingness to speak the language is manifest. To decide which is actually responsible for which is much like the old riddle of the chicken and the egg.

More to the point at present is the distribution of this effect over both language groups and sex:

TABLE 3/6***

SEX AND LANGUAGE DIFFERENCES IN RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE WILLINGNESS TO SPEAK THE SECOND LANGUAGE

	Men		Women	
	A	E	A	E
Would speak L2 more if given the opportunity	70,4%	71,4%	74,4%	68,3%
Make use of Casual opportunities for speaking L2	93,1%	87,8%	90,7%	86,2%
Make use of Serious opportunities for speaking L2	90,1%	84,0%	83,6%	81,5%
Reply in L2 when addressed it	96,2%	92,5%	94,9%	81,2%
Do not avoid situations in which one would have to speak the second language	83,0%	73,0%	70,0%	68,9%

* Based on tables A/1, B/1, C/1 and D/1

** These percentages are for question 30, a self-evaluation by the respondent of his grammatical usage. This evaluation agrees quite highly with the bilingualism measure. See the footnote to Section 1.2.3 (b).

*** Based on Tables A/1, B/1, C/1 and D/1

While the differences between the two sex groups are relatively small among the ESSAs except for the question of replying to in the second language when being spoken to, these differences are quite large again among the Afrikaners. In fact it appears that the Afrikaner men are by far the most willing of all the groups to employ their second language. On the other hand, by far the least willing are the English women.

Looking at Table 3/6 one could hypothesize (considering the findings of this chapter so far) that the most bilingual of these groups would be the Afrikaner men and the least bilingual the ESSA women, with little difference being exhibited between Afrikaner women and ESSA men. A glance at table 3/7 confirms this hypothesis, except for the non-difference between the Afrikaner women and the ESSA men.

TABLE 3/7

PROFICIENCY IN THE SECOND LANGUAGE : GRAMMATICAL USAGE

	Afr. men	Afr. women	ESSA men	ESSA women
Good/fair	87,0%	76,5%	64,3%	54,0%
Poor/not at all	12,9%	23,5%	35,7%	46,0%

Regarding proficiency then there is a definite trend to be seen, well demonstrated by the regular steps between the groups, which differ approximately 10% each time. This same trend is reflected in the attitude questions as well, but only those concerned with the actual reactions to occasions where they have to speak the second language. This relationship is quite as expected. Obviously, because of the position that English holds in South African society, the Afrikaner men are bound to be more proficient than the other groups, and the ESSA women the least proficient.*

As for the Afrikaners, there is a wholly predictable difference which shows that the men are more willing to speak the language, particularly in the more "difficult" situations (serious conversation, or situations which may be avoided). As demonstrated in the previous report (No I), the women seem to have the more positive attitude towards bilingualism, and this is reflected in table 3/6 where slightly more women than men indicate that they would like to speak the language more often.

The same pattern is found among the ESSAs but with one important difference: Fewer women than men wish for more opportunities for speaking L2. In other words, ESSA women are not only loth to speak the second language when faced by the situations, but also express less interest in doing so. In view of the educational role played by the women in the home this attitude can be of some concern.

* Cf. Volume I of this series, section 4.2.1

While much of the difference between the two ESSA groups may be ascribed to the fact that 42 of the 49 ESSA s unable to speak L2 are women, this alone cannot account for the lack of interest. The lack of interest becomes a virtual resistence to speaking the language if one considers the possible motivations behind the inability to speak L2. Why does the ESSA man learn Afrikaans (only 2,6% cannot speak it) but an eighth of the ESSA women have not yet done so? And that despite the more positive attitude they expressed towards bilingualism in Report No. I (Section 4.2.1).

This is the real problem, and is to receive some closer attention in the next Section of this report (Section 4).

3.5 AGE DIFFERENCES

Once more taking knowledge of grammar as a measure of bilingualism of the various ages groups, we find that the most bilingual groups are the 25-34 and 35-44 groups*. With the ESSAS the most bilingual is the 25-34 group and with the Afrikaners the 35-44 group. From this data (Table 3/8, p.25) one could hypothesize where the most favourable attitudes ought to be found.

The pattern of attitudes is quite straightforward among the ESSA respondents. While not quite the most bilingual, but still within the expected group, the 35-44 group are consistently the most willing to speak the second language, followed closely by the 25-34 group. What is notable is the extent to which this group is prepared to make use of opportunities for serious conversation (94,1% of the 35-44 group).

On the other hand, as may be expected from the findings of Volume I (4.2.2), the least willing to speak the second language is the 18-24 group, followed very closely by the 55+ group. While the older group's unwillingness, in the light of the reasonably favourable attitudes they expressed towards bilingualism, may in part be ascribed to a lesser degree of proficiency, the attitudes of the younger group lend strong support to the rather discomforting finding that the 18-24 group has much less loyalty to the bilingual ideal (Volume I, 4.2.2).

To some degree this finding seems to vitiate the historical explanation tendered in Volume I, since the older, pre-second world war generation (55+) are apparently *less* willing to speak the second language. However, bearing in mind the difference between an expressed attitude towards bilingualism and actual language oriented behaviour, the historical view still provides a few clues. The questions in Volume I are concerned with theoretical tolerance of bilingualism, so the influence of the war and the ideologies that

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* Cf. Table E/1

TABLE 3/8*

AGE DIFFERENCES AND RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE WILLINGNESS TO SPEAK THE SECOND LANGUAGE

AFRIKANERS :	18–24	25–34	34–44	45–54	55+
	%	%	%	%	%
Would speak L2 more if given the opportunity	82,3	79,3	70,6	71,7	57,8
Make use of Casual opportunities for speaking L2	84,4	94,0	95,3	92,0	88,9
Make use of Serious opportunities for speaking L2	84,7	83,2	90,1	87,0	90,1
Reply in L2 when addressed in it	97,7	95,3	96,3	97,7	90,1
Do not avoid situations in which one would have to speak the second language	60,9	71,3	82,0	80,2	81,5
ESSAS :	18–24	25–34	34–44	45–54	55+
	%	%	%	%	%
Would speak L2 if given the opportunities	61,8	75,3	79,2	68,3	65,9
Make use of Casual opportunities for speaking L2	82,3	89,7	88,3	89,4	83,8
Make use of Serious opportunities for speaking L2	70,4	85,9	94,1	83,0	74,1
Reply in L2 when addressed in it	87,5	93,4	93,4	84,1	75,6
Do not avoid situations in which one would have to speak the second language	63,5	73,3	75,0	72,4	67,7

* Based on Tables A/2, B/2, C/2, D/2

were current then, could very easily exercise an influence still. The questions under discussion here are concerned with reactions to present social conditions and the respondents' practical and personal behaviours. While the war provided pro-bilingualism sentiments, the period since with its increased economic, educational and communications development, has enforced a more practical approach to the second language. In other words, while you may not agree with the Afrikaner, or find his language difficult or harsh on the ear, Afrikaans and the Afrikaner have become economically significant factors. Belief in bilingualism is largely a matter of ideology, it need not involve any effort on your own part, but reaction to actual conditions and opportunities do make such demands, requiring a decision of more immediate and functional nature. (cf. Volume 3 on the functional and social uses of L2.)

A more complex correlation between age differences and attitudes is found among the Afrikaners. Again it is the middle group (34-44) that seems, generally speaking at least, to be the more prepared to employ their second language. However this same group does not show a high degree of interest in speaking the second language more often than at present. In fact this group, as well as the 45-54 group, exhibits more of a willingness to respond positively to opportunities for speaking the second language than for seeking such opportunities. Most positively set against more opportunities in this respect, is the 55+ group, which otherwise also shows itself to be quite unwilling to speak the second language, particularly when addressed in it. However, the tendency here, although twice as large as in any of the age-groups among the Afrikaners, is still not as strong as among the ESSAS.

If one looks at the 18-24 group at Afrikaners, it is clear that their attitudes differ considerably from those of the 18-24 ESSA group. The Afrikaner respondents have a greater desire to speak L2 more often if given the opportunity, than does any other Afrikaner or ESSA group. They are (along with the 45-54 group) even more willing to respond in the second language in a contact situation. Yet, when asked whether they make use of the opportunities that come their way, 15,6% of them answer in the negative. Even more startling is the fact that 39,1% of them admit that they evade occasions where they might have to speak the second language. (The 25-34 group is second to them in this, as in desire to speak L2). Bearing in mind their reasonably positive responses to the questions in Volume I, and their self-assessment of their own abilities (which, though higher than that of any of the ESSA groups, is yet the lowest among the Afrikaner groups), the data tends to point to a sense of insecurity regarding their abilities, rather than a refusal to speak the second language.

Such insecurity characterises the ESSA 18-24 group as well, but important here for the moment is that they do not want any more opportunities to speak the second language, while the Afrikaners do.

So, generally speaking, age differences do exercise an influence here and, while there are more Afrikaners showing themselves willing to speak the second language, the two language groups exhibit the same patterns across the age groups, the middel groups being more willing, the younger and older groups being more unwilling to use L2.

3.6 SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

As noted in Volume I, Socio-economic status has a definite influence on language attitudes.

Table 3/9 demonstrates the point once again:

TABLE 3/9*

SOCIO-ECONOMICS STATUS AND RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE WILLINGNESS TO SPEAK L2

	Afrikaners			ESSAs		
	Upper	middle	lower	upper	middle	lower
Would speak L2 more if given the opportunity	79,4	75,4	66,2	74,2	71,0	66,7
Make use of Casual opportunities for speaking L2	95,9	93,0	85,3	85,0	90,2	85,9
Make use of Serious opportunities for speaking L2	89,0	89,1	81,8	85,3	81,7	85,0
Reply in L2 when addressed in it	97,9	97,3	91,4	88,2	87,8	88,8
Do not avoid situations in which one would have to speak the second language	81,1	79,9	64,6	73,7	70,1	65,3
POSSIBLE N	246	330	227	247	230	99

Socio-eonomic class has a relatively consistent influence on the pattern of responses of the Afrikaner Group, as Table 3/9 shows. The members of the lower class are far less keen on opportunities for speaking L2, make less use of opportunities for speaking it, are less prone to respond in L2, and more often avoid situations in which they would have to employ L2, than do the middle and upper classes. Therefore the Afrikaner upper class is the most positive towards speaking English, the lower class least positive.

* Based on Tables A/3, B/3, C/3 and D/3.

In the case of the ESSAs this relationship between socio-economic status and attitudes toward speaking L2 is less obvious. While the attitude towards speaking L2 more often occurs in the same pattern as among the Afrikaners, the attitude to speaking the language when actually faced with the opportunities takes on a somewhat different pattern. The upper and lower classes basically concur in their reactions to opportunities, but the middle class seems to find Afrikaans more suited to casual use, and less suited to serious use. There is little difference between the groups in their response to being addressed in L2. On the other hand, when asked whether they employ evasion tactics, the familiar pattern found among the Afrikaners is back. So it would seem that, if a choice is available, the lower classes of the ESSAS would tend to be less enthusiastic about speaking Afrikaans, but when faced by an unavoidable opportunity, the difference between the groups tends to disappear, all ESSAs reacting in much the same way, although the middle class is somewhat more prone to undertaking casual rather than serious conversations.

A last factor, noticed before in Volume I, (4.2.3) is manifest again here: as one moves down the socio-economic scale the differences between the responses of the Afrikaners and ESSAs tend to diminish, virtually disappearing in the lower class, where the same tendencies are found for Afrikaner and ESSA responses across all questions. This factor may be related to the prevalence of slang and mixed language use in the lower class. More attention will be paid to this point in section 4.

3.7 LANGUAGE MILIEU

3.7.1 Language background

Table 3/10 provides data on the *language background* of the respondents.

TABLE 3/10a*

LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

AND RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE WILLINGNESS TO SPEAK L2

Respondents who:	AFRIKANER					
	Home language was L1 but often spoke L2 outside the home	Home language was L1 but occasionally spoke L2 outside the home	Home language was L2 and never spoke L2 outside the home	Home language was both L1 & L2 and often spoke L2 outside the home	Home language was both L1 & L2 and occasionally spoke L2 outside the home	Home language was L2 and often spoke L2 outside the home
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Would speak L2 more if given the opportunity	75,7	78,6	54,0	83,3	77,8	100
Make use of Casual opportunities for speaking L2	93,8	92,2	80,4	100	88,9	100
Make use of Serious opportunities for speaking L2	93,2	80,1	79,8	100	71,4	100
Reply in L2 when addressed in it	97,3	97,0	89,1	97,5	90,9	100
Do not avoid situations in which one would have to speak the second language	91,1	73,5	56,3	94,9	45,4	100
Possible N	264	337	153	40	11***	3***

* Based on Tables A/5, B/5, C/5 and D/5

*** The N too small for significance to be attached to these results

TABLE 3/10b*

LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

AND RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE WILLINGNESS TO SPEAK L2

ESSA

Respondents who:	Home language was L1 but often spoke L2 outside the home	Home language was L1 but occasionally spoke L2 outside the home	Home language was L2 and never spoke L2 outside the home	Home language was both L1 & L2 and often spoke L2 outside the home	Home language was both L1 & L2 and occasionally spoke 12 outside the home	Home language was L2 and often spoke L2 outside the home
Would speak L2 more if given the opportunity	83,3	73,6	61,6	85,7	62,5	54,5
Make use of Casual opportunities for speaking L2	95,2	86,0	69,7	100	76,9	100
Make use of Serious opportunities for speaking L2	92,2	69,6	61,5	94,1	85,7	93,5
Reply in L2 when addressed in it	100	91,2	62,2	100	100	100
Do not avoid situations in which one would have to speak the second language	81,6	65,1	53,4	95,1	76,9	95,1
Possible N	111	197	158	41	13**	41

* Based on Tables A/5, B/5, C/5 and D/5

** The N too small for significance to be attached to these results.

As in Volume I, the relationship between a rich L2 background (language identity of parents plus opportunities for speaking L2 as child) and a positive attitude towards L2, in this case towards speaking L2, is substantiated. This relationship holds for both language groups.

The fact of L2 parentage (one or both parents) appears to have the most positive effect in this respect, particularly as far as making use of opportunities for speaking L2 are concerned. This corroborates the finding of Volume I, namely that a bilingual home background is more likely to dispose a respondent to a positive attitude than a unilingual background - other things being equal.

An additional indication of the influence exerted by language background is found in question 34, which inquires after opportunities for speaking L2. Table 3/11 illustrates the relationship between language background and the language environment in which the respondents now live.

TABLE 3/11

COMPARISON OF LANGUAGE BACKGROUND AND THE PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO INDICATED THAT THE ALREADY SPEAK L2 OFTEN (i.e. LIVE IN AREAS WHERE L2 MAY BE SPOKEN OFTEN)

	Home language was L1 but often spoke L2 outside the home	Home language was L1 but occasionally spoke L2 outside the home	Home language was L2 and never spoke L2 outside the home	Home language was both L1 & L2 and often spoke L2 outside the home	Home language was L2 and often spoke L2 outside the home
Afrikaners	56,3	33,6	25,5	69,2	66,7*
ESSAs	50,5	15,5	8,0	82,5	72,5

This table suggests a tendency for people from rich L2 backgrounds to remain in or gravitate towards comparable areas in later life, while people from relatively unilingual backgrounds gravitate rather to unilingual areas. Or at least it points to a tendency for the respondents from unilingual back-

*N = 4

grounds to arrange/insulate their lives in such a way as to retain a style of life where L2 plays a minor role.

3.7.2 Language experience

To follow up the question of language contact and its influence on attitudes, table 3/12 provides data on the influence the period of L2 contact has on attitudes towards speaking L2.

TABLE 3/12*

LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE FROM CHILDHOOD TO THE PRESENT AND RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE WILLINGNESS TO SPEAK L2

	AFRIKANERS				ESSAS			
	Whole Period	Up to 18	18+	Never	Whole Period	Up to 18	18+	Never
Would speak L2 more if given the opportunity	78,1	91,7	54,5	48,9	75,1	70,8	64,5	54,3
Make use of Casual opportunities for speaking L2	94,0	94,3	93,2	52,0	92,0	70,6	76,2	47,1
Make use of Serious opportunities for speaking L2	88,2	100,0	83,3	71,4	85,3	75,0	61,9	85,7
Reply in L2 when addressed in it	97,1	95,8	98,7	73,9	97,4	77,8	83,7	37,2
Do not avoid situations in which one would have to speak L2	82,6	87,5	86,4	43,2	78,9	68,0	55,3	49,3
Possible N	483	49	78	50	383	28	87	78

Clearly the respondent who has never had any contact with L2 is most unresponsive to opportunities for using the language. The only apparent exception is the ESSA response to *serious conversation* where 14,3% indicate they do not make use of such opportunities, but it should be kept in mind that the total N of respondents answering this question is 14, and only 2 said *no*. So the results here are statistically unreliable.

As far as the other *language experience* groups are concerned, there is once more a difference in response depending on the hypothetical situation proposed by the questions. If given an option whether to speak the language or not (question 34 and 47),

*Based on Tables A/6, B/6, C/6 and D/6

the Afrikaners who have had early L2 experience are most likely to wish for more opportunities to speak L2 and least likely to avoid situations in which they might have to do so. They are followed by the group with lifelong experience, while the group with later experience is least likely to wish for more opportunities, although they do not employ evasion tactics. The tendency among the early experience group is probably ascribable to a wish to brush up on their English, their recent or present, circumstances not providing enough practice in the language.

Among the ESSA respondents the wish for more opportunities in cases where an option is offered, declines steadily from relatively high with the group with lifelong experience, to low with the group who have later experience. The positive influence that early contact with L2 has on attitudes in later life is again attested for by this table.

On the other hand, if the respondent is placed in a situation where he is basically given no option but to speak L2 (questions 14 and 48), the responses of all the Afrikaner groups with at least some experience are very much alike: They all respond highly favourably to such opportunities. Among ESSAs on the other hand there is not the same agreement, only the group with lifelong contact evincing a positive response comparable to that among the Afrikaners. It is interesting to note that this group makes up two-thirds of the total ESSA respondents in the table. Thus the differences that exist between the Afrikaners and the ESSAs in their reactions to opportunities for speaking L2 are to be found among that third of the respondents who have had more limited or not contact with the language.

3.7.3 Language environment

The extent to which present *language environment* may influence these attitudes is studied in Table 3/13.

Again the group who indicate that they never use L2 for casual or serious conversations are the most negatively disposed towards using L2. With the remaining groups, three factors exert an influence.

Firstly the extent of the respondent's present involvement with L2 determines whether he would wish for more opportunities for speaking L2. Thus the last group, which already has plenty of contact, tends to be slightly less in need of more opportunities than the other groups, particularly among the Afrikaners. (The findings among the ESSAs are unreliable because of the small N involved.) Secondly the extent of the respondent's confidence in his fluency, determined by the frequency with which he uses the language or comes into contact with it, influences his willingness to speak L2. This is most clearly seem when one looks at question 47. Those respondents who only

TABLE 3/13*

LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT AND RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE WILLINGNESS TO SPEAK L^2

	Never have contact with L2	Occasionally have casual conversations in L2	Occasionally have casual and serious conversations in L2	Often have casual conversations in L2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L2
AFRIKANERS:	%	%	%	%	%	%
Would speak L2 more if given the opportunity	49,3	75,2	81,4	80,0	84,0	72,5
Make use of Casual opportunities for speaking L2	**	82,2	89,9	93,1	100,0	97,9
Make use of Serious opportunities for speaking L2	**	100,0	76,3	100,0	87,8	94,4
Reply in L2 when addressed in it	81,9	94,4	98,6	98,2	100,0	97,4
Do not avoid situations in which one would have to speak L2	48,1	60,9	82,2	71,9	93,1	93,6
Total Possible N	84	163	148	58	74	195
ESSAS:	%	%	%	%	%	%
Would speak L2 more if given the opportunity	54,6	74,5	73,1	70,6	90,5/	77,3/
Make use of Casual opportunities for speaking L2	**	73,1	85,2	90,0	100,0	97,9
Make use of Serious opportunities for speaking L2	**	100,0	63,6	100,0	78,4	95,0
Reply in L2 when addressed in it	48,5	94,1	98,9	85,0	100,0	98,5
Do not avoid situations in which one would have to speak L2	52,4	55,8	85,2	59,0	86,3	93,5
Total Possible N	131	171	88	40	52	140

* Based on Table A/7, B/7, C/7 and D/7

** There are no responses in these cases, the particular questions being concerned only with respondents who do have opportunities.

/ The total N here less than 25.

have occasional casual conversations admit to using evasion tactics more often than respondents who have greater contact with L2. It is true of the group who often have casual conversations as well, a fact which points to the third factor, namely the type of contact. Whereas the extent of his confidence is most likely to influence his actual performance, as shown by questions 14 and 48, the type of contact - casual or serious - seems to be the decisive factor with question 47. Those respondents who have some serious conversations are less likely to avoid contact situations than those with only casual conversations. The latter two factors are related, since to undertake a serious conversation would supply confidence for facing any contact situation.

The most important factor in this situation is eventually the language background which determines whether the respondent would use his L2 in the given situations. The most obviously negative respondents are those who never have contact with L2, and the reasons for these attitudes must therefore lie in the background rather than in present circumstances.

3.8 REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

Table 3/14 presents the data for the three basic regional comparisons to be undertaken.

TABLE 3/14*

AREA WHERE RESIDENT AND RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE WILLINGNESS TO SPEAK L2

	AFRIKANERS				ESSAs			
AREA	PTA	JHB	BFN	CAPE	PTA	JHB	BFN**	CAPE
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Would speak L2 more if given the opportunity	73,9	67,1	82,2	72,7	68,7	61,7	66,7	71,4
Make use of Casual opportunities for speaking L2	87,7	93,0	93,1	93,7	96,1	81,7	100,0	90,2
Make use of Serious opportunities for speaking L2	81,9	85,3	96,0	92,3	89,5	73,7	76,9	85,4
Reply in L2 when addressed in it	92,4	96,8	91,9	94,5	93,7	83,6	93,7	89,1
Do not avoid situations in which one would have to speak L2	69,7	85,0	65,0	80,9	81,2	69,0	93,7	71,3
Possible N	160	157	64	91	32	171	16	151
(Afr.) Language colour of city	77,6	31,6	80,6	35,2	77,6	31,6	80,6	35,2

*Based on Tables A/8, B/8, C/8 and D/8
**N is 16, so no real significance may be attached to results.

Comparing the responses of Pretoria and Johannesburg, the data reveal that Pretoria respondents are likelier to wish for more opportunities for speaking the second language, irrespective of whether they are Afrikaners or ESSAs, than Johannesburg respondents. On the other hand evasion tactics and resistence to using L2 when faced with occasions for contact, occur more often among ESSAs in Pretoria and Afrikaners in Johannesburg. In other words, residents who speak the "minority language" tend to bow to the inevitable.

A greater awareness of language identity, albeit only in theory, does seem to exist in Johannesburg than in Pretoria, since Pretoria respondents are more likely to wish for greater opportunities for speaking L2 than respondents from Johannesburg, irrespective of whether they are Afrikaners or ESSAs. Much the same is true when we compare Johannesburg and Cape Town. Johannesburg respondents react more emphatically against a greater use of L2, although they are more likely to accomodate when faced by an unavoidable situation of contact.

Comparing Pretoria Afrikaners and Bloemfontein Afrikaners one finds that, while more likely to avoid contact situations, the Bloemfontein group is exceedingly more in favour of greater opportunities and indicate more frequent use of such opportunities. The responses of the Bloemfontein ESSA group are not statistically significant, but it is interesting to note that they are far less prone to employing evasion techniques - possibly because it is much more difficult in the more limited social situation in the city.

3.9 CONCLUSION

3.9.1 Summary

This Section has been concerned with the attitudes towards using L2.

The general finding has been that while people are not always keen on having more opportunities for speaking L2, when actually faced with a situation in which they have to speak the language, they do so. The fact that a large number of respondents attempt to avoid such situations does point to the possibility that almost 1/3rd of the sample do not see such occasions as *opportunities*, but as something undesirable.

The same pattern holds true for both Afrikaners and ESSAs, although the latter group (as a group) are markedly less enthusiastic about wishing to use and actually using - L2. While this finding would seem to be in accordance with generally held belief, it is in fact only true of Afrikaners and ESSAs who are unable to speak L2 or who speak it poorly.

Adaptive behaviour* (i.e. a tendency to opt for the language in which one is addressed or the language being generally used in a situation) on closer inspection appears a common social behaviour pattern among all bilinguals (whether of Afrikaner or ESSA origin), almost all the *good* or *fair* bilinguals indicating that they tend to respond in L2 when addressed in it.

Differences between the language groups do however appear among those respondents who speak L2 poorly or not at all. The Afrikaner is markedly more prepared to use L2 when confronted, but the ESSA is more prepared to admit to a wish for more opportunities for speaking L2. The possible causes for this seeming contradiction are discussed in 3.3, the final conclusion being that the unwillingness of the ESSA to speak L2 is more likely to be related to lack of desire for learning the language than a negative attitude to actually using the language once learnt. On the other hand Afrikaner lack of desire for more opportunities is perhaps related to the fact that they have enough opportunities already, and that by denying a wish for more opportunities they would be paying a modicum of lip-service to the "language loyalty" principle which is rather strong in Afrikaner thought (cf. Volume 4).

The role of sex differences in these attitudes is important. Afrikaner men are very positive in their response to opportunities for speaking L2, but ESSA women are particularly unresponsive to such situations. In the light of the educational role played by the mother, the fact that ESSA women are far more negative in attitude to L2 than the Afrikaner women could have far-reaching effects on language attitudes in South Africa.

Age differences reveal strong positive attitudes in the middle-age groups (35-54), with more negative attitudes at the ends. A comparison of the significant 18-24 groups is of some concern. The ESSA youth, while probably insecure as regards their ability to speak L2, are not strongly motivated to have more opportunities to speak Afrikaans. As for Afrikaner youths they prove keen on learning English, although they quite often avoid situations in which they would be forced to speak L2.

Thus there is ample support here for the earlier finding (Volume 1) that ESSAs young people are far less keen on the bilingual ideal than their Afrikaner counterparts.

Attitudes towards speaking L2 are linked to socio-economic status - the higher the status, the more prone the respondent is to speak L2. This is qualified among ESSAs in the following way: differences between the ESSA status groups tend to disappear in cases where the speakers are faced with situations which force them to employ L2.

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*This term, first introduced in a lecture (Hauptfleisch, 1976) in response to an earlier suggestion by L.W. Lanham (Lanham, 1975), has been coined for specific use in the case of bilinguals and will be discussed in much greater detail in Volume 3 of this series.

In the lower status groups we also find that attitudinal differences between the language groups tend to disappear, while such differences are accentuated in the upper classes.

The role of language milieu is typified in a simple formula: more contact means more positive attitudes towards using L2. This is particularly true of early contact with L2 and bilingual home background. While three factors operative in the present language environment do influence these attitudes - the extent of the respondent's present involvement with L2, the extent of his confidence in his proficiency in L2 and the kind of contact he has with L2 (casual or serious conversations) - the eventual conclusion is that the decisive factor in a contact situation is most likely to be the language background of the individual. This finally determines whether the respondent will use L2 in a given situation or not, for the nature of his/her contact with L2 has formed most of the individual's values and attitudes.

In cases of language contact the social situation also exerts an influence by sheer weight of numbers. This is shown when comparing Pretoria and Johannesburg respondents with regard to these measures: the conclusion is that respondents who speak a "minority" language (in terms of a city's language colour), tend to bow to the inevitable and switch to L2 more easily than the "majority" group.

3.9.2 Conclusions

The general finding is that adaption to the bilingual situation, and willingness to speak L2 if confronted by the occasion to do so, is relatively common in South Africa among both language groups. In this section such willingness has been interpreted as a positive attribute of a bilingual citizen. In Volume 4 the other interpretation, the possible dangers inherent in such behaviour and the accompanying attitudes will be touched upon. The importance of the adaptive tendency cannot be over-stressed, and factors affecting its role in language behaviour will receive some detailed consideration in Volume 3.

But first further manifestations of language attitudes, and the willingness to learn and use L2, are to be studied in the next Section.

4. IMPROVING THE STANDARD AND PROFICIENCY OF ONE'S L2

4.1 INTRODUCTION : INDICATORS OF L2 PROFICIENCY

Much reference has been made to proficiency in the second language, particularly in the foregoing chapter.

Some closer attention ought to be paid to the extent of proficiency, and the

reliability of the self-evaluative measures employed. To do so, table 4/1 has been drawn up in order to compare the responses to four self-evaluative measures contained in the questionnaire. The relevant questions are numbers 8, 30, 43 and 44 (cf appendix II of Volume I). The first question is included, despite a problem which might have occurred because of the ambiguous wording. Some respondents, when asked what other languages they spoke, only indicated third or fourth languages, assuming that it is understood that they speak the second language.* Nevertheless, the total responses seem to have been affected only slightly, although the reservation has to be borne in mind. Question 44 is included as the ability to tell a joke is a generally accepted measure of the ability to handle colloquial spoken language.

TABLE 4/1

PROFICIENCY IN THE SECOND LANGUAGE : SELF EVALUATIONS

RESPONDENTS WHO:	AFRIKANERS	ESSAs	TOTAL
Are able to speak L2 (Question 8)	80,0%	60,2%	71,5%
Have a good/fair knowledge of L2 (the bilinguality measure) (Question 30)	80,4%	54,7%	69,1%
Have no need to search for words in L2 (Question 43)	78,2%	50,9%	66,5%
Are able to tell a joke in L2 (Question 44)	75,6%	44,8%	66,6%

As can be seen there are no great differences between the responses of the Afrikaners across the four questions, although the responses of the ESSAs vary more markedly.

While the questions are concerned with different forms and levels of proficiency, indications are that Afrikaners are generally very bilingual (75,6% of them can even tell a joke in English), while the standard of bilinguality is much lower among the ESSAs. More to the point at the moment, the Bilinguality measure designed for use in this report (cf. 1.2.3) seems to be a fair anough measure, lying somewhere between the general indication of an ability to speak the second language (question 8) and the more specific items of high proficiency, lack of hesitation and ability to tell a joke.

Considering the total number of respondents who indicate that they are *not*

*In the sense of the "other official language". Cf. 1.3

proficient in the second language (30,9% on the bilingualism measure, an N of 434 respondents), the question of attempts to improve use and usage of the second language is highly topical.

4.2 THE DESIRE TO IMPROVE PROFICIENCY AND USAGE

In the previous section willingness to speak the second language was held to be a measure of the desire to practice and maintain or improve proficiency in the language, along with being an expression of goodwill towards the language and its speakers and a realization of the need for the second language. In this section more direct questions are asked concerning the respondent's attitudes towards learning and improving usage in L2. The stress is on improving his usage in L2 rather than on learning it, so that both those unable and those already proficient may be asked to respond.

4.3 THE QUESTIONS

Four questions were used here: 41, 36, 37 and 19. Question 41, which asks whether the respondent wants to understand written and spoken form only, or whether he also wishes to be able to speak it well, is aimed at ascertaining the functional value the respondent places on his second language. Does he see it as a fully-fledged means of communication, which he not only wishes to understand, but also to employ actively, or does he have no need of it beyond being able to understand something written or spoken in it? (*I.e.* is it simply a passive instrument?)

Questions 36 and 37 go together and are intended to ascertain whether the respondent has ever felt a need to improve his L2. In the case of question 37, an attempt is made to assess the strength of such a need (thus: does he feel strongly enough about it to take definite steps to improve his use of L2?). Because of certain problems in interpretation which may arise, it is perhaps well to contrast the English and Afrikaans versions of the questions here:

36 Do you ever feel you would like to improve:

	Yes	No
(a) Your English pronunciation?	1	2
(b) Your Afrikaans?	1	2

Is u tevrede met u standaard van taalgebruik:
(Are you satisfied with your standard of usage:)

	Ja	Nee
(a) In Afrikaans?	1	2
(b) In Engels?	1	2

37 Did you take any positive steps in 1972/73 to improve:

	Yes	No
(a) Your use of English?	1	2
(b) Your use of Afrikaans	1	2

Kan u met sekerheid sê dat u in 1972/73 al doelbewus probeer het om:
(Can you say with certainty that, during 1972/73, you ever consciously attempted to:)

	Ja	Nee
(a) Afrikaans beter te gebruik? (Use Afrikaans better?)	1	2
(b) Engels beter te gebruik? (Use English better?)	1	2

Obviously the Afrikaans versions of the questions are not true translations of the English versions, and any direct comparisons between the two language groups concerning those questions are meaningless. The differences that exist are the result of premeditated attempts to allow for contextual and cultural differences between the two language groups. For the purpose of this discussion, the language variable will nevertheless be retained and in both cases the two questions will be seen as measures of the degree and strength of a desire to improve their language usage. The potency of such desire would most probably only need to be stronger among the ESSAs in order to obtain a "yes" response.

The last question in this group, gives an indication of the respondent's interest in learning or using the second language correctly by asking whether the respondent has a dictionary which allows him access to the second language. Unfortunately data on this particular question are only available for certain of the basic variables, namely language, sex, age and socio-

economic status.

5 THE RESULTS

5.1 LANGUAGE IDENTITY AND BILINGUALITY

The responses to these four questions have been summarized below in table 5/1.

TABLE 5/1

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE DESIRE TO IMPROVE PROFICIENCY AND USAGE IN L2. BY LANGUAGE

	Afrikaners	ESSAs
Would also like to speak L2 well	94,3%	84,3%
Want to improve L2 (Dissatisfied with present standard of L2)	58,5%	77,8%
Have taken steps to improve L2	64,2%	20,0%
Have L2 dictionaries	84,2%	78,5%

Significantly more Afrikaners than ESSAs would like an active command of L2 (in oral form at least) and have dictionaries as a means of access to the second language, but more ESSAs are concerned enough about their command of L2 to desire to improve their proficiency in it.

This latter finding seems strange until one remembers that 80,4% of the Afrikaners indicated that they speak the second language well or fairly well in contrast to only 54,7% of the ESSAs. Should this be taken into account the picture looks slightly different:

TABLE 5/2

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE DESIRE TO IMPROVE PROFICIENCY AND USAGE IN L2. BY LANGUAGE AND BILINGUALITY

	AFRIKANERS			ESSAS		
	Good/Fair	Weak	Cannot Speak L2	Good/Fair	Weak	Cannot Speak L2
Want to improve L2 (Dissatisfied with present standard of L2)	52,9	84,1	**	77,7	81,9	55,0
Have taken steps to improve L2	67,1	25,6	**	43,2	15,1	7,3

While the strange difference remains in the more proficient groups, it virtually disappears among the *weak* groups. However it becomes a marked drop with the *Cannot* group of ESSAs. Thus, under normal circumstances, the less proficient a group is the more eager it is to improve. This is *not* true of the *Cannot* group of ESSAs. Obviously the attitudes are markedly antipathetic in the latter group.

The fact that the Afrikaners in the good/fair groups tend to be less eager to improve their standard of usage in L2 than the ESSAs are to improve their use of L2 is most probably the result of a number of factors.

Foremost among these must be the fact that whereas the good/fair distribution of Afrikaners is about 50/50, the distribution of ESSAs is about 40/60, so that there are likely to be more Afrikaners in the good/fair group who do not need to be concerned about their L2 (as they already consider themselves as *good*). A second matter may be that the two groups could differ on their interpretation of "good" and "fair", factor partly demonstrated by Prinsloo (1972) when he studied the self-evaluations of comparable groups of Afrikaner and ESSA University students and compared these to their actual performance (Chpt. 8).

Thirdly it is important to note the emphasis of the Afrikaans questionnaire on *standard of usage* in contrast to the English questionnaire's more sweeping "improve your Afrikaans".

Nevertheless, despite these differences that exist, the fact that 77,7% of the *weak* ESSAs would actually like to improve their L2 is a distinctly positive factor in the current language situation.

However this optimistic outlook may possibly be based on false hopes. One need but look at another tendency revealed by table 5/2: it is the more proficient groups (i.e. good/fair) who actually *do* something about improving their L2 (or ensuring a better standard of usage). This is true of both Afrikaner and ESSA groups. And of course, direct action is a much greater indicator of positive attitude than a mere expressed wish for improvement will ever be.

So, while this may in part be explained by assuming that one who has taken positive steps during the past year will most probably refer to himself as fair or good now, the finding once more tends to point quite positively to a direct link between attitudes and proficiency.

The same more positive attitudes among the proficient groups are found when the results of questions 41 and 19 are reviewed:

TABLE 5/3*

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE DESIRE TO IMPROVE PROFICIENCY AND USAGE IN L2. BY LANGUAGE AND BILINGUALITY

	AFRIKANERS		ESSAS		
	Good/fair	Weak	Good/fair	Weak	Cannot Speak L2
Would also like to speak L2 well	96,8	87,3	92,0	87,7	66,7
Would speak L2 more often if given the opportunity	79,9	59,3	79,6	67,9	51,1
Have L2 dictionaries	89,4	71,4	87,0	74,9	54,2

And always it is the *Cannot*-group of ESSAs that really differentiates between the Afrikaners and the ESSAs.

In short then, while the Afrikaners seem to have a slightly more positive attitude towards learning and improving their use of the second language, the groups differ very little on this score, both being quite strongly in favour, except for this one undeniable indictment of the ESSAs: the presence of the large groups of dogged monolinguals (53 respondents). Much more attention will have to be paid to this group and the phenomenon they represent. This could, one supposes, be highly relevant in studies of immigrant groups and their resistance to assimilation.

A significant factor, allied to the above, which is to be noted in question 41 is the large number of ESSAs (10% of the total of ESSAs in contrast to only 1,2% of the Afrikaners), who indicated that they have no desire to acquire either an active or a passive command of Afrikaans. (Cf. table 7/4) As expected, the largest concentration of such responses are in the *weak* and *cannot* groups (43 of the total of 53 responses in this option). By far the largest percentage is found in the *cannot* group, namely 40,9% of the total of 44, followed by 11,4% of the *weak* group, 3,2 of the *good/fair* group. The strongest reaction against English among the Afrikaners is found among the *weak* group, where 16 respondents (11,0%) found a passive knowledge of the second language sufficient.

So there is a distinct qualitative difference between the motivations of the Afrikaners and the ESSAs, particularly in the less proficient groups. The more specific qualities of such motivations will be more closely studied in volume III, which deals with the norms for the use of the second language.

*Based on Tables 7/4, A/4 and I/4.

5.2 SEX DIFFERENCES

There appear to be few significant differences between the sexes with regard to the measures discussed in this section. The same is true of both language groups. The only really large difference is to be found among the Afrikaners, regarding question 36 ("Would like to improve").

TABLE 5/4*

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE DESIRE TO IMPROVE PROFICIENCY AND USAGE IN L2. BY LANGUAGE AND SEX

	AFRIKANERS		ESSAS	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Would also like to speak L2 well	94,4	93,8	85,4	83,5
Want to improve L2 (Dissatisfied with present standard of L2)	50,7	64,8	77,7	78,0
Have taken steps to improve L2	66,7	62,1	23,3	17,5
Have L2 dictionaries	85,2	83,4	80,5	77,5

A difference of 14,1% is large enough to be (highly) significant. In other words, Afrikaner women are much more concerned with speaking better English than are Afrikaner men, although more of the latter have tried to use better English during the past year. (This last difference is, however, not as significant. The x^2 test shows a probability of significance at the 20% level only, which is not sufficient. However it illustrates a tendency which has to be noted).

A possible explanation may be found in the fact that the Afrikaner male is more proficient in his second language than is the Afrikaner woman (table 3/8, 3.4). However, the same is true of the ESSA men and the difference in both cases is about the same, so that proficiency itself does not seem to be the sole factor. Because of the stress on "better" English, this points to a greater sensitivity among Afrikaner women to "correct" speech and all that the concept entails. And this finding concurs with that noted in Volume IV, namely that women are more sensitive to language usage (purity) than men.

As for the steps taken to improve the use of the second language, there is a trend for the men to be more strongly represented here, a fact which in turn bears out the tentative finding of section 4.4.1, namely that there is a positive link between proficiency and attempts at improvement. This trend is

*Based on tables F/1, G/1, H/1 and I/1.

stronger among the ESSAs (where x^2 is significant at the 10% level).

In all the questions used in fact, there is a perceptible drop in the positive attitudes from Afrikaner men down to ESSA women, a drop which is also found, although much more clearly, in the tables on the proficiency of the groups (cf. table 3/8, section 3.4).

5.3 AGE DIFFERENCES

Age differences have a profound influence on attitudes towards the second language, as noted before. This is particularly true of the questions dealt with in this section.

TABLE 5/5

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE DESIRE TO IMPROVE PROFICIENCY AND USAGE IN L2. BY LANGUAGE AND AGE

	AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+
Would also like to speak L2 well	94,6	95,6	93,5	92,6	96,0	82,4	90,0	88,7	86,1	80,2
Want to improve L2 (Dissatisfied with present standard of L2)	75,4	64,8	55,9	52,9	43,1	80,9	83,3	77,2	76,4	72,3
Have taken steps to improve L2	66,5	67,4	62,0	67,5	63,8	22,7	25,8	34,0	11,4	19,8
Have L2 dictionaries	83,9	80,1	89,3	91,7	75,0	81,3	75,8	82,0	87,2	71,2
Possible N	170	93	94	83	82	168	63	55	47	83

With the Afrikaner, the wish to speak English as well as to be able to understand it, is general. Over 90% of each age group agree on this. Among the ESSAs a more curved pattern is to be noticed, the two end groups, 18-24 and 55+ being somewhat less enthusiastic than the middle group. This is in character with the findings thus far, namely that these two ESSA groups are relatively less positive in their attitudes towards the second language (Cf. 3.5). Nevertheless, differences here are very slight, more than four-fifths of even the lowest group (55+) giving an affirmative answer.

Should we consider the ESSA respondents who selected the third option ("neither of the two"), the attitudes of these groups are even clearer:

TABLE 5/6*

PERCENTAGE OF ESSA RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE NO DESIRE TO SPEAK OR UNDERSTAND L2 WELL. BY AGE

18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+
12,0	5,0	3,8	9,3	13,0

Apparently, the most definite resistance to Afrikaans among the ESSA respondents seems to lie among the very old and the very young.

As far as the older group is concerned, the question on the possession of dictionaries seems to confirm the view. However for this question the patterns of answers of both Afrikaners and ESSAs are remarkably similar.

For both groups the most dictionaries are in the hands of the 45-54 group, and the least in those of the 55+ group. Most interesting in both groups is the large percentage of 18-24 respondents who own dictionaries, and the relatively low percentage of 25-34 respondents who do.

Obviously the ownership of a dictionary does not necessarily indicate a wish to have one. The school syllabus could enforce ownership (as in case of 18-24s) or the non-existance or a shortage of dictionaries in earlier years, along with lower educational level, could be a factor with the 55+ group.

By far the most interesting finding in this section is the response to the question on the wish to improve the use of the second language. Perhaps the tendency revealed is best seen graphically, as given in Graph 5/1.

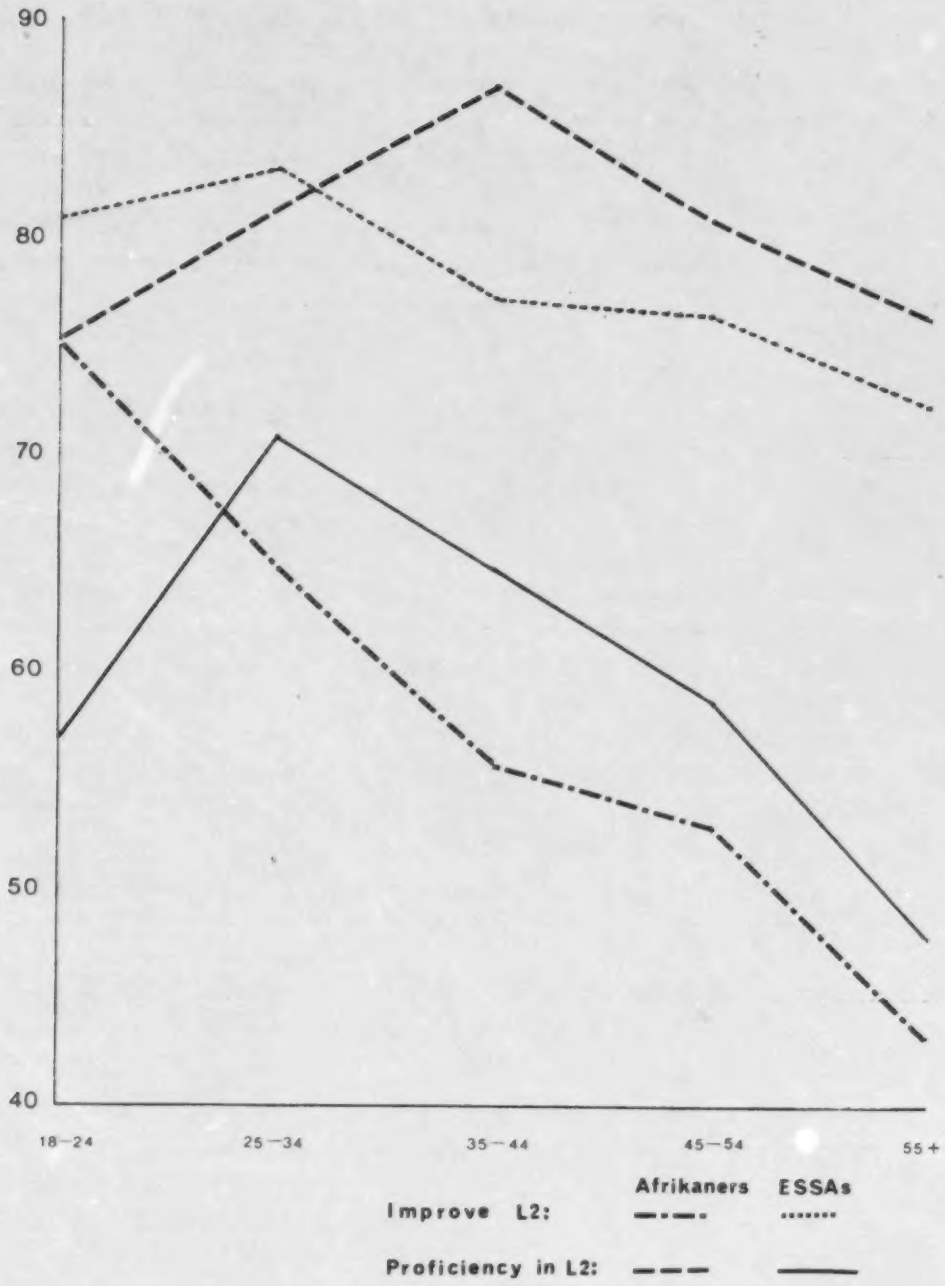
In both language groups, the number of *yes* responses drop clearly with increased age. The drop is spectacular in the case of the Afrikaners, and while there is a brief upward trend for the 25-34 group of ESSAs, the general trend here too is down. The latter deviation is explainable, along with the whole trend, in the light of what may be termed the motivations behind a desire of improvement.

A desire of improvement ought logically to be related to the degree of satisfaction with and confidence in the respondent's own proficiency, and one would expect the most desire for such improvement at the point of least proficiency. However, this is not the case here, as can be seen when comparing the graph to the graph drawn of the two groups' proficiency (also Graph 5/1). It would appear that the roles played by the languages in the respondent's life, and particularly his awareness of such roles have a greater influence on his

*Based on tables F/2, G/2, H/2 and I/2.

GRAPH 5/1

THE WISH TO IMPROVE THE USE OF L2 AND THE DEGREE OF PROFICIENCY IN L2. BY LANGUAGE AND AGE.



desire. Thus a young person, uncertain of what he was going to do in later life, and therefore unable to assess the role to be played by the second language in that unknown future, would tend to be ready to express a desire for improvement. As he grows older, and both his life in society and its concommitant needs, requirements and values are more firmly established, the role of this second language is defined in many ways, enabling him to make a closer assesment of the degree of proficiency demanded. In this way it becomes increasingly simpler and more common to say "I am proficient enough", and to answer *no* to this question. Particularly for the Afrikaner respondent, who is generally highly proficient to start with and who is well aware of the significance of English in society.

The slight deviation of the ESSA group, as well as the closer similarity between the graph and the proficiency graph, is most probably related to their weaker initial knowledge of both the second language itself and its functions in society. The young group is relatively opposed to the second language compared to the middle age groups (cf. volume I and also section 3.5 of this report). It is only later (25-34 years) that they actually come into contact with Afrikaans as a viable social instrument, and accordingly there is a greater desire to improve their use of it. Once this realization has taken root, and Afrikaans has attained a fixed role in their lives, the desire for improvement ceases as the desired level of proficiency is reached. Thus the drop.

Historically seen of course, it is only of late that Afrikaans has become a crucial factor in commerce, as far as the ESSA is concerned. This too can explain the drop in interest, since it is for the newer generations that the language has a functional value, not the older groups.

Whatever the explanations, the fact that we find a trend similar to that found if proficiency of the groups are traced, once more leads us back to the disturbing question of the extent to which the undeniably more reserved attitudes found among the ESSAs are the cause, and to what extent the result, of the lower proficiency levels.

This question becomes highly valid when we consider that, of the 53 respondents who cannot speak the second language, 69,8% are ESSAs above 45 years of age and 58,5% are above 55 years. If such a direct relation between proficiency and attitude exists, the marked drop in goodwill among the 18-24 group has some disconcerting possibilities for the future of Afrikaans.

5.4 SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

There is a simple and direct relationship between socio-economic status and

attitudes towards improving L2. Table 5/7 illustrates:

TABLE 5/7*

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE DESIRE TO IMPROVE PROFICIENCY AND USAGE IN L2. BY LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

	AFRIKANER			ESSAs		
	Upper	Middle	Lower	Upper	Middle	Lower
Would also like to speak L2 well	96,7	95,4	89,5	88,7	82,9	83,3
Want to improve L2 (Dissatisfied with present standard of L2)	60,7	56,4	56,8	79,7	79,0	76,9
Have taken steps to improve L2	70,8	64,9	58,2	26,2	16,5	13,0
Have L2 dictionary	95,9	84,7	70,0	84,1	76,3	72,0
Total possible N	246	330	227	247	230	99

The most positive attitudes are found among the upper class, the least positive among the lower class. While the differences are often very small, particularly in the first two questions, this pattern - also found in Volume I and Section 3 of this report - is nevertheless clear. The reason is most probably that the upper classes normally place a greater premium on verbal communication and correct usage (cf. also volume IV).

Table 5/7 also reaffirms the similarity between Afrikaner and ESSA lower classes in their attitudes towards the second language. Taking the two questions which are comparable for the two language groups (Cf. 4.3), i.e. number 41 and number 19, one finds the differences between Afrikaner and ESSA to be smaller in the lower class than in any other class. In question 19 the difference virtually disappears, becoming a mere two percent.

5.5 LANGUAGE MILIEU

5.5.1 Language background

The influence of *language background* on attitudes towards improving L2 may

*Based on tables F3, G/3, H/3 and I/3.

be studied by means of Table 5/8.

TABLE 5/8*

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE DESIRE TO IMPROVE PROFICIENCY AND USAGE IN L2. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

	AFRIKANERS						ESSAs					
	Home language was L1 but often spoke L2 outside the home	Home language was L1 but occasionally spoke L2 outside home	Home language was L2 and never spoke L2 outside home	Home language was both L1 & L2 and often spoke L2 outside home	Home language was both L1 & L2 and occasionally spoke L2 outside home	Home language was L2 and often spoke L2 outside home	Home language was L1 but often spoke L2 outside home	Home language was L1 but occasionally spoke L2 outside home	Home language was L2 and never spoke L2 outside home	Home language was both L1 & L2 and often spoke L2 outside home	Home language was both L1 & L2 and occasionally spoke L2 outside home	Home language was L2 and often spoke L2 outside home
Would also like to speak L2 well	95,0	96,6	87,2	92,1	100,0	100,0	91,3	89,1	70,3	89,7	84,6	92,1
Want to improve L2 (Dissatisfied with present standard of L2)	43,1	72,3	66,2	29,0	77,8	0,0	78,6	83,8	71,3	73,0	76,9	67,6
Have taken steps to improve L2	68,8	63,2	52,9	75,0	60,0	100,0	25,2	22,6	14,2	29,0	15,4	18,9
	264	337	153	40	11**	3**	111	197	158	41	13**	41

Taking only these respondents from unilinqual L1 homes (i.e. the first three categories), one finds that there is high general agreement among those with at least some outside contact ("often" or "occasionally" spoke L2) in their desire to be able to speak L2 as well as understand it. The group with no outside contact is not as unanimous about this, particularly the ESSA group. The majority of the respondents from bilingual homes as well as the language shift group also wish to speak and understand L2 well.

So early language contact does have a strong influence, whether the contact be inside or outside the home, and lack of such contact creates a feeling, especially among the ESSA respondents, that it is not really important to be able to speak L2; a passive knowledge being enough. Because of the roles played by the two languages in the South African situation, the difference

*Based on Tables F/5, G/5 and H/5.
**The N too small for significance to be attached to these results.

between the respondents from the two language groups is to be expected (Cf. Volume III).

The responses to question 36 follow a different pattern. The wish to improve L2 (or dissatisfaction with proficiency in it) is strongest among those who had only occasional contact with L2, and is particularly high (83,8%) among the ESSA respondents. It is much lower among the other groups, those who have had plenty of contact and those who have had none. In the former case the reason is most probably that the groups are bilingual to a large extent and do not feel the need as much, while in the latter case the need for L2 is not seen as urgent. The respondents who have only had limited contact are more likely to be less bilingual, yet, because of the early contact, are aware of the need for L2 in the South African society. The influence of bilinguality is, predictably, very strong among the Afrikaners. Those with early contact are basically satisfied with the current standard of their English.

When one turns to the extent to which these respondents are prepared to take steps to improve, the pattern is more conventional: the greater the earlier contact, the greater the number of respondents who had taken steps to improve. The only exception to this rule is the language shift group. Because of their language shift, they are most likely to be the most bilingual of the groups, and therefore not as interested in improving a language which has lost its primary value for them and one they know well enough already.

5.5.2 Language experience

Turning to Table 5/9 we may look at the influence of *language experience* on attitudes.

TABLE 5/9*

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE DESIRE TO IMPROVE PROFICIENCY AND USAGE IN L2. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE FROM CHILDHOOD TO THE PRESENT

	AFRIKANERS				ESSAS			
Had contact with L2:	Whole period	Up to 18 yrs	18+	Never	Whole period	Up to 18 yrs	18+	Never
Would also like to speak L2 well	95,3	95,7	93,4	83,3	90,7	73,1	80,0	58,3
Want to improve L2 (Dissatisfied with present standard of L2)	54,7	53,3	56,8	74,4	79,6	80,0	77,7	60,6
Have taken steps to improve L2	66,7	54,2	63,0	29,6	22,6	18,5	20,0	7,1
Total possible N	483	49	78	50	383	28	87	78

Among the Afrikaners there is a general wish to be able to speak English as well as to be able to understand it. Those respondents with no L2 experience are somewhat less enthusiastic, but yet more so than the majority of the ESSAs, except for the ESSAs who have had lifelong exposure to L2. Among the ESSAs the wish to speak Afrikaans as well is really strong only among the group with lifelong exposure, and very low among those with no experience of L2. Few of these respondents would like to improve their use of L2 and only five of them took steps to improve their usage of Afrikaans.

The comparable Afrikaner group is much more interested in an active knowledge of L2, a comparatively large number are interested in improving their English - more than those respondents who have had experience of L2 and are therefore proficient to varying degrees already. However they are also lax when it comes to doing something about it, only thirteen actually having taken the trouble to improve their English.

The pattern of attitudes across all the groups, Afrikaners and ESSAs, remains much the same: They are greatly interested in attaining proficiency in the active use of L2; but less interested in improving their use of L2 (lowest in the case of the ESSAs, who are generally less proficient than the Afrikaners and therefore most probably more in need of improvement). As pointed out be= fore (4.3), the second and third questions are not really comparable for the two language groups.

The most important finding of this variable therefore is the vast difference in attitude towards the learning and improvement of L2 to be found in the two groups without any language experience. The Afrikaners are quite strongly in favour of an active proficiency in English, and a large number of Afrikaners from this group are concerned about their language usage in L2 - though few of them have actually taken steps to improve it. The ESSA group on the other hand is far less interested in an active ability in Afrikaans. In fact 36,1% of these respondents are not even interested in a passive knowledge of Afri= kaans. This group is also less interested in improving its knowledge of Afrikaans than any other of the ESSA groups, despite the fact that they are least likely to be proficient in it.

The lack of language experience thus has a much greater negative influence on ESSAs than on Afrikaners. The reason for this difference is probably to be sought in the cultural and functional value of English, as seen by the Afri= kaner, and more particularly, the stereotyped attitude towards English which has developed over the years because of the cultural and functional need for the language (cf. Volume I). The two groups, Afrikaners and ESSAs, grow up with two different sets of stereotyped attitudes, fostered by society and education: the Afrikaner view of English, which is preponderantly positive and the ESSA view of Afrikaans, which is simply neutral or even negative.

The existence of such attitudes, and the way in which they are fostered by lack of experience, are of great importance to the future of Afrikaans and the language balance in South Africa.

5.5.3 Language Environment

TABLE 5/10*

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE DESIRE TO IMPROVE PROFICIENCY AND USAGE IN L2. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT

	Never have contact with L2	Occasionally have casual conversations in L2	Occasionally have casual and serious conversations in L2	Often have casual conversations in L2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L2
AFRIKANERS	%	%	%	%	%	%
Would also like to speak L2 well	78,3	95,1	97,2	98,2	98,7	96,2
Want to improve L2 (Dissatisfied with present standard of L2)	66,7	77,6	58,9	69,1	63,8	36,0
Have taken steps to improve L2	50,0	51,6	59,7	75,4	80,0	71,2
Total possible N	84	163	148	58	74	195
ESSAS						
Would also like to speak L2 well	63,1	85,0	94,1	86,8	93,9**	95,5**
Want to improve L2 (Dissatisfied with present standard of L2)	67,9	81,6	82,4	80,6	77,6	76,7
Have taken steps to improve L2	7,6	15,2	26,4	13,9	32,7	29,6
Total possible N	131	171	88	40	52	140

*Based on tables F/7, G/7 and H/7.
**The total N here less than 25.

Table 5/10 illustrates how present *language environment* correlates with attitudes towards improving L2. As far as the attitude towards an active or passive knowledge of L2 is concerned, it is once again the group with no contact which is least interested in an active proficiency. Among the Afrikaners the rest of the groups are unanimous in their wish for active knowledge of English. Among the ESSAs the same pattern holds, but with the additional differentiation between respondents who have casual conversations only in Afrikaans and those who also have serious conversations. It is the same relation as found in section 3.7.3, namely: those respondents who have occasional serious conversations are more positive in attitude than those who only have casual conversations. This same distinction is found in their response to question 37: "Did you take any positive steps in 1972/73 to improve your use of L2?" Twice as many of the "serious" groups indicated that they had taken trouble to improve their second language. Among the Afrikaners the differentiating factor for this question is rather the frequency with which they speak L2 (often/occasionally): The more frequently, the greater the number of positive attitudes expressed.

As to their attitudes towards improving L2, the position is virtually reversed. The Afrikaner group with little contact is relatively keen on improving, more so than those who have serious conversations, less than those who have casual conversations. In other words, casual contact with L2 seems to stimulate the desire to speak it better, while serious contact, presumably made possible by existing proficiency, already provides enough practice to make attempts to improve less imperative. The same relationship between strength of contact and desire to improve is found among the ESSAs, but the factor of *occasionally/often*, i.e. the frequency of contact, is more important now than the quality of the contact (casual/serious). However the basic influences remain the same.

Throughout all the measures of language milieu one thing has become clear: The greater the amount of L2 contact - in youth, in middle-life, or at present - the more positive the attitude to learning, improving and using L2. Conversely, no contact leads to a great deal of negative responses.

Fortunately for the South African situation the incidence of no contact is generally rather limited: 10,4% in the case of the language background measure and the language experience measure, and 16,0% for the language environment measure. Naturally enough there are far more ESSAs in the two categories (13,5% and 21,1% respectively).

5.6 REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

TABLE 5/11*

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE DESIRE TO IMPROVE PROFICIENCY AND USAGE IN L2. BY LANGUAGE AND AREA WHERE RESIDENT

	AFRIKANERS				ESSAS			
	PTA	JHB	BFN	CAPE	PTA	JHB	BFN	CAPE
Would also like to speak L2 well	89,6	94,7	96,7	93,3	83,9	83,6	81,3	83,0
Want to improve L2 (Dissatisfied with present standard of L2)	65,7	53,1	63,8	52,9	83,3	73,3	85,7	82,5
Have taken steps to improve L2	60,1	67,6	75,0	67,5	17,2	19,8	25,0	21,3
Total possible N	160	157	64	91	32	171	16**	151
Language colour of city	77,6	31,6	80,6	35,2	77,6	31,6	80,6	35,2

Finally table 5/11 traces the patterns found in four major metropolitan areas. All four cities studied here are equally in favour of speaking L2, as well as understanding it, while attitudes towards improving L2 are somewhat stronger in the predominantly Afrikaans-speaking cities (Pretoria and Bloemfontein). Strangely enough this holds true for both language groups. Language consciousness would appear to be somewhat higher in these two cities, or possibly simply the *need* for both languages is higher (Cf. volume I). Active steps taken to improve proficiency in L2 are particularly taken by respondents from Bloemfontein, and least of all by respondents in Pretoria. Again this holds true for both language groups, although little weight can be given to the findings for Bloemfontein ESSAs because of the small N involved.

So while the language colour of a city may influence the attitude towards wanting to learn L2, the results which such influence will eventually have is a matter determined by factors other than simple language preponderance. For example, the previous section (3) would suggest that the individual respondent's particular social movements and contacts within that city are of more importance than the mere fact that he resides among L2 speakers.

*Based on tables F/8, G/8 and H/8.

**N is too small here for any statistical significance to be attached to results.

5.7 CONCLUSIONS

This section has concerned itself with the wish to know L2 well, in the light of the finding that Afrikaners are far more proficient in English than ESSAs are in Afrikaans.

The basic finding has been that the less proficient a group is, the more eager it is to improve its usage in the second language. This does not hold true for those ESSAs unable to speak Afrikaans. They prove to be distinctly less positive in their attitudes.

All in all there appears to be a qualitative difference in motivation between the two groups which will have to be taken up again in the next Volume.

Sex differences point to greater sensitivity to language usage among women, particularly Afrikaans women, than among men. This is a factor to be touched upon again in Volume IV.

Resistance to learning L2 is low among Afrikaners of all ages, but among ESSAs it is particularly the oldest (55+) and youngest (18-24) groups which are loth to learn L2. It is also of particular importance to note that desire to improve L2 drops with increased age. These findings and the accompanying discussion of the factors involved, could have implications for language education and language policy in South Africa where they have identified certain social tendencies in language learning behaviour among White South Africans. The simple direct relationship between language attitudes and social status is found with all the questions discussed. High status is clearly related to more positive attitudes, while lower status tends to de= note more negative attitudes. It is quite simply a factor of greater sensi= tivity to language and language usage through social expectations and social roles.

The influence of early L2 contact on these attitudes, whether inside or out= side the home, is strong and lack of such contact in particular seems to create a feeling that the language is not worth speaking - thus a passive knowledge is enough. This finding is particularly true of the ESSAs, on whom, for a number of historical and social reasons (cf. 5.5), lack of second language experience or background has a much greater negative in= fluence than on Afrikaners.

The same can be said of present language environment, and this leads to the simple formula: the greater the amount of L2 contact (irrespective of the stage in life when such contact is made) the more positive is the attitude to learning, improving and using L2. And, conversely, no contact leads to a great deal of negative response to these matters.

This formula is not necessarily linked to the language colour of a particular city, for the way in which a respondent reacts will be conditioned more properly by his individual social movements and contacts than by the influence of the total city.

6. CONCLUSION

To summarize then, this report has indicated that desire to speak, to learn and to improve usage in L2 depends finally on three related factors: Contact with L2, proficiency in L2 and attitudes toward L2.

These factors operate in much the same way for both language groups, and both Afrikaners and ESSAs tend to evince the same basic behavioural and attitudinal patterns. For instance, both Afrikaner and ESSA bilinguals tend to evince adaptive tendencies in L2 contact situations. So too, in both groups the degree of L2 proficiency is directly related to desire to improve L2 - the less proficient a group, the more eager they are to improve.

However, this is true only of good or fair bilinquals. When one composes Afrikaners and ESSAs who speak L2 poorly or not at all there are rather more marked differences in attitude. Such differences appear to be related to what must be considered fundamentally different motivations for leaving and using L2 - a matter studied in Volume 3 of this series.

APPENDIX I

THE SURVEY SAMPLE (N = 1 607)

		N	%
1.	The language groups		
	Afrikaans-speaking	918	57,1
	English-speaking	689	42,9
2.	Sex		
	Male	703	43,8
	Female	904	56,3
3.	Marital State		
	Married	1230	76,5
	Unmarried	242	15,1
	Divorced	37	2,3
	Widow/widower	95	5,9
4.	Age		
	18 - 24	234	14,6
	25 - 34	387	24,1
	35 - 44	342	21,3
	45 - 54	311	19,4
	55 - 64	217	13,5
	65 and older	116	7,2
5.	Occupation		
	Retired, student, housewife	639	39,8
	Professional, technical	215	13,4
	Administrative	44	2,7
	Clerical	330	20,5
	Sales	127	7,9
	Mines	14	0,9
	Transport and communication	16	1,0
	Artisans	169	10,5
	Services	48	3,0
	Unknown	5	0,3

6.	Income	N	%
	Less than R2 000	98	6,9
	R2 000 - R3 000	156	11,0
	R3 000 - R4 000	189	13,3
	R4 000 - R5 000	193	13,6
	R5 000 - R6 000	173	12,2
	R6 000 - R7 000	170	12,0
	R7 000 - R8 000	117	8,2
	R8 000 - R9 000	85	6,0
	R9 000 - R10 000	68	4,8
	R10 000 - R11 000	43	3,0
	R11 000 - R12 000	44	3,1
	R12 000 - R14 000	35	2,5
	R14 000 - R16 000	16	1,1
	R16 000 - R18 000	7	0,5
	R18 000 and more	26	1,8

APPENDIX II

THE TABLES

TABLE A/1 RESPONDENTS WHO, IF GIVEN MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPEAKING L2, WOULD DO SO. BY LANGUAGE AND SEX

		Sex			Language			Language and Sex					
								Afrikaners			ESSAs		
		M	F	Tot	Afrikaners	ESSAs	Tot	M	F	Tot	M	F	Tot
Yes, would speak it more often	N	263	446	709	387	322	709	126	261	387	137	185	322
	%	70,9	71,7	71,4	73,0	69,5	71,4	70,4	74,4	73,0	71,4	68,3	69,5
No, would not	N	108	176	284	143	141	284	53	90	143	55	86	141
	%	29,1	28,3	28,6	27,0	30,5	29,6	29,6	25,6	27,0	28,6	31,7	30,5
Total	N	371	622	993	530	463	993	179	351	530	192	271	463
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N/A-Already have enough opportunities	N	311	256	567	363	204	567	213	150	363	98	106	204
% of total responses	%	45,6	29,2	36,3	40,6	30,6	36,3	54,3	29,9	40,6	33,8	28,1	30,6

TABLE A/2 RESPONDENTS WHO, IF GIVEN MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPEAKING L2, WOULD DO SO. BY LANGUAGE AND AGE

Language		AFRIKANERS						ESSAS					
Age		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	Total	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	Total
Yes, would speak it more often	N	79	111	77	71	48	386	42	70	57	69	83	321
	%	82,3	79,3	70,6	71,7	57,8	73,2	61,8	75,3	79,2	68,3	65,9	69,8
No, would not	N	17	29	32	28	35	141	26	23	15	32	43	139
	%	17,7	20,7	29,4	28,3	42,2	26,8	38,2	24,7	20,8	31,7	34,1	30,2
Total	N	96	140	109	99	83	527	68	93	72	101	126	460
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N/A-Already have enough opportunity	N	36	86	101	71	68	362	26	56	48	35	39	204
% of total responses		27,3	38,1	48,1	41,8	45,0	40,7	27,7	37,6	40,0	25,7	23,6	30,7

TABLE A/3 RESPONDENTS WHO, IF GIVEN MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPEAKING L2, WOULD DO SO. BY LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Language		Afrikaners				ESSAs			
Status		Upper	Middle	Lower	Total	Upper	Middle	Lower	Total
Yes, would speak it more often	N	100	135	96	331	124	103	42	269
	%	79,4	75,4	66,2	73,6	74,3	71,0	66,7	71,7
No, would not	N	26	44	49	119	43	42	21	106
	%	20,6	24,6	33,8	26,4	25,7	29,0	33,3	28,3
Total	N	126	179	145	450	167	145	63	375
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N/A-Already have enough opportunities	N	111	144	77	332	77	73	33	183
% of total responses	%	46,8	44,6	34,7	42,5	31,6	33,5	34,4	32,8

TABLE A/4 RESPONDENTS WHO, IF GIVEN MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPEAKING L2, WOULD DO SO. BY LANGUAGE AND BILINGUALITY

Language		Afrikaners					ESSAs				
Bilinguality		Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot speak L2	Total	Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot speak L2	Total
Yes, would speak it more often	N	76	183	79	1	339	23	106	150	23	302
	%	76,0	81,7	60,3	25,0	73,9	85,2	78,5	67,9	51,1	70,6
No, would not	N	24	41	52	3	120	4	29	71	22	126
	%	24,0	18,3	39,7	75,0	26,1	14,8	21,5	32,1	48,9	29,4
Total	N	100	224	131	4	459	27	135	221	45	428
	%										
N/A-Already have enough opportunities	N	204	91	21	0	316	99	73	13	0	185
% of total responses	%	67,1	28,9	13,8	0,0	40,8	78,6	35,1	5,6	0,0	30,2

TABLE A/5

RESPONDENTS WHO, IF GIVEN MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPEAKING L2, WOULD DO SO
BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

LANGUAGE		AFRIKANERS							ESSAS						
		Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL	Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL
Yes, would speak it more often	N	84	169	60	10	7	1	331	45	120	86	6	5	5	266
	%	75,7	78,6	54,1	83,3	77,8	100,0	72,1	83,3	73,6	61,6	85,7	62,5	45,5	69,8
No, would not	N	27	46	51	2	2	0	128	9	43	53	1	3	6	115
	%	24,3	21,4	45,9	16,7	22,2	0,0	27,9	16,7	26,4	38,4	14,3	37,5	54,5	30,2
Total	N	111	215	111	12	9	1	459	54	163	138	7	8	11	381
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N/A- Already have enough opportunities	N	143	109	38	27	2	2	321	55	30	12	33	5	29	164
% of total responses	%	56,3	33,6	25,5	69,2	18,2	66,7	41,2	50,5	15,5	8,0	82,5	38,5	72,5	30,1

TABLE A/6 RESPONDENTS WHO, IF GIVEN MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPEAKING L2, WOULD DO SO BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE

LANGUAGE		AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
HAD L2 CONTACT		Whole period	Up to 18 yrs.	From 18 yrs.	Never	Total	Whole period	Up to 18 yrs.	From 18 yrs.	Never	Total
Yes, would speak it more often	N	186	33	24	22	265	169	17	49	38	273
	%	78,2	91,7	54,5	48,9	73,0	75,1	70,8	64,5	54,3	69,1
No would not	N	52	3	20	23	98	56	7	27	32	122
	%	21,8	8,3	45,5	51,1	27,0	24,9	29,2	35,5	45,7	30,9
Total	N	238	36	44	45	363	225	24	76	70	395
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N/A- Already have enough opportunities	N	229	13	31	5	278	154	2	10	1	167
% of total responses	%	49,0	26,5	41,3	10,0	43,4	40,6	7,7	11,6	1,4	29,7

TABLE A/7

RESPONDENTS WHO, IF GIVEN MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPEAKING L2, WOULD DO SO
BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT

LANGUAGE		AFRIKANERS										ESSAS									
		Never have contact with L_2	Occasionally have casual conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual conversations in L_2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have serious conversations in L_2	Often have serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and often serious conversations in L_2	TOTAL	Never have contact with L_2	Occasionally have casual conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual conversations in L_2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have serious conversations in L_2	Often have serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and often serious conversations in L_2	TOTAL
Yes, would speak it more often	N	37	106	79	24	21	29	2	0	10	308	65	117	49	24	19	17	0	0	6	297
	%	49,3	75,2	81,4	80,0	84,0	72,5	33,3	0,0	83,3	72,1	54,6	74,5	73,1	70,6	90,5	77,3	0,0	0,0	100,0	69,4
No, would not	N	38	35	18	6	4	11	4	1	2	119	54	40	18	10	2	5	2	0	0	131
	%	50,7	24,8	18,6	20,0	16,0	27,5	66,7	100,0	16,7	27,9	45,4	25,5	26,9	29,4	9,5	22,7	100,0	0,0	0,0	30,6
Total	N	75	141	97	30	25	40	6	1	12	427	119	157	67	34	21	22	2	0	6	428
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N/A- Already have enough opportunities	N	9	20	50	24	46	144	0	3	22	318	1	13	21	4	30	114	0	1	7	191
	%	10,7	12,4	34,0	44,4	64,8	78,3	0,0	75,0	64,7	42,7	0,8	7,7	23,9	10,5	58,8	83,8	0,0	100,0	53,9	30,9

TABLE A/8 RESPONDENTS WHO, IF GIVEN MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPEAKING L2, WOULD DO SO BY LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

LANGUAGE		AFRIKANERS								ESSAS							
Place of Residence		Pretoria	Vaal Triangle	Johannes-burg	Bloemfon-tein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town	TOTAL	Pretoria	Vaal Triangle	Johannes-burg	Bloemfon-tein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town	TOTAL
Yes, would speak it more often	N	85	32	49	37	3	19	32	257	11	1	74	1	65	40	85	277
	%	73,9	78,0	67,1	82,2	100	73,1	72,7	74,1	68,8	25,0	61,7	33,3	73,0	75,5	71,4	68,6
No, would not	N	30	9	24	8	0	7	12	90	5	3	46	2	24	13	34	127
	%	26,1	22,0	32,9	17,8	0,0	26,9	27,3	25,9	31,3	75,0	38,3	66,7	27,0	24,5	28,6	31,4
Total	N	115	41	73	45	3	26	44	347	16	4	120	3	89	53	119	404
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N/A- Already have enough opportunities	N	41	18	78	18	8	30	44	237	16	4	46	11	12	24	27	140
% of total responses	%	26,3	30,5	51,7	28,6	72,7	53,6	50,0	40,6	50,0	50,0	27,7	78,6	11,9	31,2	18,5	25,7

TABLE B/1

REACTIONS OR RESPONDENTS WHO ARE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK THE SECOND LANGUAGE IN (A) BRIEF AND CASUAL CONVERSATIONS (B) SERIOUS CONVERSATION BY LANGUAGE AND SEX

		SEX			LANGUAGE			LANGUAGE AND SEX					
					Afri=kaner	ESSA		Afrikaner			ESSA		
		M	F	Tot.	M	F	Tot.	M	F	Tot.	M	F	Tot.
		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
(A)													
Have opportunity and <u>do</u> make us of it	N	510	566	1076	659	417	1076	309	350	659	201	216	417
	%	84,6	83,0	83,7	87,2	78,8	83,7	88,5	86,0	87,2	79,1	78,6	78,8
Have opportunity and <u>occasionally</u> make use	N	38	40	78	35	43	78	16	19	35	22	21	43
	%	6,3	5,9	6,1	4,6	8,1	6,1	4,6	4,7	4,6	8,7	7,6	8,1
Have the opportunity and <u>do not</u> make use of it	N	55	76	131	62	69	131	24	38	62	31	38	69
	%	9,1	11,1	10,2	8,2	13,0	10,2	6,9	9,3	8,2	12,2	13,8	13,0
TOTAL	N	603	682	1285	756	529	1285	349	407	756	254	275	529
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(B)													
Have opportunity and <u>do not</u> make use of it	N	329	283	612	382	230	612	214	168	382	115	115	230
	%	79,3	76,3	78,1	79,1	76,4	78,1	81,4	76,4	79,1	76,7	76,2	76,4
Have opportunity and <u>occasionally</u> make use	N	34	24	58	39	19	58	23	16	39	11	8	19
	%	8,2	6,5	7,4	8,1	6,3	7,4	8,8	7,3	8,1	7,3	5,3	6,3
Have the opportunity and <u>do not</u> make use of it	N	52	64	114	62	52	114	26	36	62	24	28	52
	%	12,5	17,3	14,5	12,8	17,3	14,5	9,9	16,4	12,8	16,0	18,5	17,3
TOTAL	N	415	371	784	483	301	784	263	220	483	150	151	301
	%		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE B/2

REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS TO OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPEAKING THE SECOND LANGUAGE IN (A) BRIEF AND CASUAL CONVERSATIONS (B) SERIOUS CONVERSATION BY LANGUAGE AND AGE

Language		AFRIKANERS						ESSAS					
Age		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	TOT	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	TOT
(A)													
Have the opportunity + do make use of it	N	84	179	173	120	103	659	57	110	86	81	83	417
	%	77,1	89,5	90,1	87,0	88,0	87,2	7,2	87,3	83,5	77,9	70,9	78,8
Have the opportunity + occasionally make use	N	8	9	10	7	1	35	8	3	5	12	15	43
	%	7,3	4,5	5,2	5,1	0,9	4,6	10,1	2,4	4,9	11,5	12,8	8,1
Have the opportunity + do not make use	N	17	12	9	11	13	62	14	13	12	11	19	69
	%	15,6	6,0	4,7	8,0	11,1	8,2	17,7	10,3	11,7	10,6	16,2	13,0
TOTAL	N	109	200	192	138	117	756	79	126	103	104	117	529
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(B)													
Have the opportunity + do make use of it	N	41	90	120	64	67	382	27	64	59	39	41	230
	%	69,5	72,0	85,1	83,1	82,7	79,1	61,4	82,1	86,8	73,6	70,7	76,4
Have the opportunity + occasionally make use	N	9	14	7	3	6	39	4	3	5	5	2	19
	%	15,3	11,2	5,0	3,9	7,4	8,1	9,1	3,9	7,4	9,4	3,5	6,3
Have the opportunity + do not make use	N	9	21	14	10	8	62	13	11	4	9	15	52
	%	15,3	16,8	9,9	13,0	9,9	12,8	29,6	14,1	5,9	17,0	25,9	17,3
TOTAL	N	59	125	141	77	81	483	44	78	68	53	58	301
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

LANGUAGE		AFRIKANERS				ESSAS			
Class		Upper	Middle	Lower	TOTAL	Upper	Middle	Lower	TOTAL
(B) SERIOUS									
Often make use of opportunities	N	133	139	66	338	93	79	30	202
	%	81,1	79,9	75,0	79,3	80,2	76,0	75,0	77,7
Occasionally make use of opportunities	N	13	16	6	35	6	6	4	16
	%	7,9	9,2	6,8	8,2	5,2	5,8	10,0	6,2
Seldom/Never make use of opportunities	N	18	19	16	53	17	19	6	42
	%	11,0	10,9	18,2	12,4	14,7	18,3	15,0	16,2
Total	N	164	174	88	426	116	104	40	260
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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TABLE B/3

REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS TO OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPEAKING L2 IN
(A) BRIEF AND CASUAL CONVERSATIONS (B) SERIOUS CONVERSATIONS

BY LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS.

LANGUAGE		AFRIKANERS				ESSAS			
Class		Upper	Middle	Lower	TOTAL	Upper	Middle	Lower	TOTAL
(A) CASUAL									
Often make use of opportunities	N	204	246	132	582	152	144	63	359
	%	93,6	86,3	81,0	87,4	78,8	78,7	80,8	79,1
Occasionally make use of opportunities	N	5	19	7	31	12	21	4	37
	%	2,3	6,7	4,3	4,7	6,2	11,5	5,1	8,2
Seldom/Never make use of opportunities	N	9	20	24	53	29	18	11	58
	%	4,1	7,0	14,7	8,0	15,0	9,8	14,1	12,8
Total	N	218	285	163	666	193	183	78	454
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 8.4

REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS TO OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPEAKING L2 (A) BRIEF AND CASUAL CONVERSATIONS (B) SERIOUS CONVERSATIONS BY LANGUAGE AND BILINGUALITY.

Language		Afrikaners					ESSAs				
Bilinguality		Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot speak L2	Total	Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot speak L2	Total
A. Casual											
Often make use of opportunities	N	267	234	69	0	570	111	174	83	2	370
	%	95,7	89,7	66,3	0,0	88,2	94,1	89,7	51,9	50,0	77,7
Occasionally make use of opportunities	N	5	11	14	0	30	4	9	28	0	41
	%	1,8	4,2	13,5	0,0	4,6	3,4	4,6	17,5	0,0	8,6
Seldom/never make use of opportunities	N	7	16	21	2	46	3	11	49	2	65
	%	2,5	6,1	20,2	100,0	7,1	2,5	5,7	30,6	50,0	13,7
Total	N	279	261	104	2	646	118	194	160	4	476
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
B. Serious											
Often make use of opportunities	N	211	106	13	0	330	100	90	17	0	207
	%	88,3	76,3	43,3	0,0	80,7	94,3	75,6	38,6	0,0	76,4
Occasionally make use of opportunities	N	16	12	5	0	33	2	11	3	0	16
	%	6,7	8,6	16,7	0,0	8,1	1,9	9,2	6,8	0,0	5,9
Seldom/never make use of opportunities	N	12	21	12	1	46	4	18	24	2	48
	%	5,0	15,1	40,0	100,0	11,2	3,8	15,1	54,5	100,0	17,7
Total	N	239	139	30	1	409	106	119	44	2	271
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 8/5

REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS TO OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPEAKING L2. (A) BRIEF AND CASUAL CONVERSATION (A) BRIEF AND CASUAL CONVERSATION (B) SERIOUS CONVERSATIONS. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

Language		AFRIKANERS							ESSAS						
Language background		1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTAL	1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTAL
		Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL	Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL
(A) CASUAL															
Often make use of opportunities	N	224	241	77	32	7	1	582	96	124	45	37	10	36	348
	%	92,2	85,8	75,5	97,0	77,8	100	87,0	91,4	75,6	59,2	100	76,9	94,7	80,4
Occasionally make use of opportunities	N	4	18	5	1	1	0	29	4	17	8	0	0	2	31
	%	1,7	6,4	4,9	3,0	11,1	0,0	4,3	3,8	10,4	10,5	0,0	0,0	5,3	7,2
Seldom/Never make use of opportunities	N	15	22	20	0	1	0	58	5	23	23	0	3	0	54
	%	6,2	7,8	19,6	0,0	11,1	0,0	8,7	4,8	14,0	30,3	0,0	23,1	0,0	12,5
Total	N	243	281	102	33	9	1	669	105	164	76	37	13	38	433
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

		1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTAL	1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTAL
(B) SENIOR															
After make use of opportunities	N	177	116	33	27	4	2	359	62	44	15	32	6	29	188
	%	85,5	72,1	73,3	93,1	57,1	100	80,0	80,5	63,8	57,7	94,1	85,7	93,6	77,1
Occasionally make use of opportunities	N	16	13	2	2	1	0	34	9	4	1	0	0	0	14
	%	7,7	8,1	4,4	6,9	14,3	0,0	7,6	11,7	5,8	3,9	0,0	0,0	0,0	5,7
Seldom/Never make use of opportunities	N	14	32	10	0	2	0	58	6	21	10	2	1	2	42
	%	6,8	19,9	22,2	0,0	28,6	0,0	12,9	7,8	30,4	38,5	5,9	14,3	6,5	17,2
Total	N	207	161	45	29	7	2	449	77	69	26	34	7	31	244
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE B/6

REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS TO OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPEAKING L_2 (A) BRIEF AND CASUAL CONVERSATIONS (B) SERIOUS CONVERSATIONS. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE

LANGUAGE		AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE		Whole period	Up to 18 yrs	From 18 yrs	Never	Total	Whole period	Up to 18 yrs	From 18 yrs	Never	Total
(A) Casual											
Often make use of opportunities	N	396	32	54	12	494	301	10	41	7	359
	%	90,6	91,4	91,5	48,0	88,9	85,8	58,8	65,1	41,2	80,1
Occassionally make use of opportunities	N	15	1	1	1	18	22	2	7	1	32
	%	3,4	2,9	1,7	4,0	3,2	6,3	11,8	11,1	5,9	7,1
Seldom/Never make use of opportunities	N	26	2	4	12	44	28	5	15	9	57
	%	6,0	5,7	6,8	48,0	7,9	8,0	29,4	23,8	52,9	12,7
TOTAL	N	437	35	59	25	556	351	17	63	17	448
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(B) Serious											
Often make use of opportunities	N	251	16	24	4	295	178	3	12	12	205
	%	79,9	88,9	80,0	57,1	80,0	79,1	75,0	57,1	85,7	77,7
Occassionally make use of opportunities	N	26	2	1	1	30	14	0	1	0	15
	%	8,3	11,1	3,3	14,3	8,1	6,2	0,0	4,8	0,0	5,7
Seldom/Never make use of opportunities	N	37	0	5	2	44	33	1	8	2	44
	%	11,8	0,0	16,7	28,6	11,9	14,7	25,0	38,1	14,3	16,7
TOTAL	N	314	18	30	7	369	225	4	21	14	264
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE B/7

REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS TO OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPEAKING L2 (A) BRIEF AND CASUAL CONVERSATION
BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT (B) SERIOUS CONVERSATION

Language of Environment		AFRIKANERS							ESSAS						
		Never have contact with L2	Occassionally have casual conversations in L2	Occasionally have casual and serious conversations in L2	Often have casual conversations in L2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L2	Total	Never have contact with L2	Occasionally have casual conversations in L2	Occasionally have casual and serious conversations in L2	Often have casual conversations in L2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L2	Total
(A) CASUAL															
Often make use of opportunities	N	0	134	133	41	70	179	557	0	125	75	13	45	127	385
	%	0,0	82,2	89,9	70,7	94,6	91,8	87,3	0,0	73,1	85,2	32,5	86,5	90,7	78,4
Occasionally make use of opportunities	N	0	0	0	13	4	12	29	0	0	0	23	7	10	40
	%	0,0	0,0	0,0	22,4	5,4	6,2	4,6	0,0	0,0	0,0	57,5	13,5	7,1	8,2
Seldom/Never make use of opportunities	N	0	29	15	4	0	4	52	0	46	13	4	0	3	66
	%	0,0	17,8	10,1	6,9	0,0	2,1	8,2	0,0	26,9	14,8	10,0	0,0	2,1	13,4
Total	N	0	163	148	58	74	195	638	0	171	88	40	52	140	491
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(B) SERIOUS															
Often make use of opportunities	N	0	0	113	0	65	157	335	0	0	56	0	41	118	215
	%	0,0	0,0	76,4	0,0	87,8	80,5	80,3	0,0	0,0	63,6	0,0	78,9	84,3	76,8
Occasionally make use of opportunities	N	0	0	0	0	0	27	27	0	0	0	0	0	15	15
	%	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	13,9	6,5	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	10,7	5,4
Seldom/Never make use of opportunities	N	0	0	35	0	9	11	55	0	0	32	0	11	7	50
	%	0,0	0,0	23,7	0,0	12,2	5,6	13,2	0,0	0,0	36,4	0,0	21,6	5,0	17,9
Total	N	0	0	148	0	74	195	417	0	0	88	0	52	140	280
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE B.8

REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS TO OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPEAKING L_2 (A) BRIEF AND CASUAL CONVERSATION (B) SERIOUS CONVERATION BY LANGUAGE AND AREA OF RESIDENTS

Language		AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
Area of residents		Pretoria	Johannesburg	Bloemfontein	Cape	Total	Pretoria	Johannesburg	Bloemfontein	Cape	Total
(A) CASUAL											
Often make use of opportunities	N	104	111	50	73	338	23	99	14	93	229
	%	80,0	86,1	86,2	91,3	85,1	88,5	75,6	100	83,0	80,9
Occasionally make use of opportunities	N	10	9	4	2	25	2	8	0	8	18
	%	7,7	7,0	6,9	2,5	6,3	7,7	6,1	0,0	7,1	6,4
Seldom/Never make use of opportunities	N	16	9	4	5	34	1	24	0	11	36
	%	12,3	7,0	6,9	6,3	8,6	3,9	18,3	0,0	9,8	12,7
Total	N	130	129	58	80	397	26	131	14	112	283
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(B) SERIOUS											
Often make use of opportunities	N	55	73	19	44	191	17	49	10	44	120
	%	76,4	76,8	76,0	84,6	78,3	89,5	64,5	76,9	80,0	73,6
Occasionally make use of opportunities	N	4	8	5	4	21	0	7	0	3	10
	%	5,6	8,4	20,0	7,7	8,6	0,0	9,2	0,0	5,5	6,1
Seldom/Never make use of opportunities	N	13	14	1	4	32	2	20	3	8	[illegible]
	%	18,1	14,7	4,0	7,7	13,1	10,5	26,3	23,1	14,6	20,3
Total	N	72	95	25	52	244	19	76	13	55	163
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE C/1

REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS WHEN ADDRESSED IN THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE.
BY LANGUAGE AND SEX

		Sex			Language			AFRIKANERS Language and sex			ESSAS Language and sex		
		M	F	Tot.	Afrikaners	Essas	Tot.	M	F	Tot.	M	F	Tot.
REPLY IN L1	N	37	99	136	41	95	136	15	26	41	22	73	95
	%	5,3	11,0	8,6	4,5	13,9	8,6	3,8	5,1	4,5	7,5	18,8	13,9
REPLY IN L2	N	656	797	1453	865	588	1453	383	482	865	273	315	588
	%	94,7	89,0	91,4	95,5	86,1	91,4	96,2	94,9	95,5	92,5	81,2	86,1
TOTAL	N	693	896	1589	906	683	1589	398	508	906	295	388	683
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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TABLE C/2

REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS WHEN ADDRESSED IN THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE.
BY LANGUAGE AND SEX

		AFRIKANERS						ESSAS					
Age		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	Total	18-24	25-34	34-44	45-54	55+	Total
REPLY IN L1	N	3	11	8	4	15	41	12	10	8	22	42	94
	%	2,3	4,7	3,7	2,3	9,9	4,5	12,5	6,6	6,6	15,9	24,4	13,9
REPLY IN L2	N	130	221	207	167	136	861	84	141	113	116	130	584
	%	97,7	95,3	96,3	97,7	90,1	95,5	87,5	93,4	93,4	84,1	75,6	86,1
TOTAL	N	133	232	215	171	151	902	96	151	121	138	172	678
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE C/3

REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS WHEN ADDRESSED IN THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE.
BY LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Status		AFRIKANERS Upper	Middle	Lower	Total	ESSAS Upper	Middle	Lower	Total
REPLY IN L1	N	5	9	19	33	29	28	11	68
	%	2,1	2,7	8,6	4,2	11,8	12,2	11,2	11,9
REPLY IN L2	N	239	319	201	759	217	201	87	505
	%	98,0	97,3	91,4	95,8	88,2	87,8	88,8	88,1
TOTAL	N	244	328	220	792	246	229	98	573
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE C/4

REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS WHEN ADDRESSED IN THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE.
BY LANGUAGE AND BILINGUALITY

Bilinguality		AFRIKANERS Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot speak L^2	Total	ESSAS Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot speak L^2	Total
REPLY IN L1	N	6	3	19	3	31	0	3	39	41	83
	%	1,9	0,9	12,5	100	3,9	0	1,4	16,6	82,0	13,3
REPLY IN L2	N	308	316	133	0	757	126	210	196	9	541
	%	98,1	99,1	87,5	0	96,1	100	98,6	83,4	18,0	86,7
TOTAL	N	314	319	152	3	788	126	213	235	50	624
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE C/5

REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS WHEN ADDRESSED IN THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE BACKGROUND.

		AFRIKANERS								ESSAS			
		Home language was L1 but often spoke L2 outside	Home language was L1 but occasionally spoke L2 outside	Home language was L1 and never spoke L2 outside	Home language was both L1 and L2 and often spoke L2 outside	Home language was both L1 and L2 and occasionally spoke L2 outside	Home language was L2 and often spoke L2 outside	TOTAL	Home language was L1 but often spoke L2 outside	Home language was L1 but occasionally spoke L2 outside	Home language was L1 and never spoke L2 outside	Home language was both L1 and L2 and often spoke L2 outside	Home language was both L1 and L2 and occasionally spoke L2 outside	Home language was L2 and often spoke L2 outside
REPLY IN L1	N	7	10	16	1	1	0		0	17	59	0	0	0
	%	2,7	3,0	10,9	2,5	9,1	0		0	8,8	37,8	0	0	0
REPLY IN L2	N	254	319	131	39	10	3		110	177	97	41	13	41
	%	97,3	97,0	89,1	97,5	90,9	100		100	91,2	62,2	100	100	100
TOTAL	N	261	329	147	40	11	3		110	194	156	41	13	41
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE C/6

REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS WHEN ADDRESSED IN THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE.

BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE.

Language		AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
Had L1 Contact		Whole period	Up to 18 years	From 18 years	Never	Total	Whole period	Up to 18 years	From 18 years	Never	Total
REPLY IN L1	N	14	2	1	12	29	10	6	14	49	79
	%	2,9	4,2	1,3	26,1	4,5	2,6	22,2	16,3	62,8	13,8
REPLY IN L2	N	467	46	76	34	623	370	21	72	29	492
	%	97,1	95,8	98,7	93,9	95,6	97,4	77,8	83,7	37,2	86,2
TOTAL	N	481	48	77	46	652	380	27	86	78	571
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE C/7

REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS WHEN ADDRESSED IN THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT (I.E. CURRENT WITH L2)

AFRIKANERS

		Never have contact with L2	Occasionally have casual conversations in L2	Occasionally have casual and serious conversations in L2	Often have casual conversations in L2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L2	Occasionally have serious conversations in L2	Often have serious conversations in L2	Occasionally have casual and often serious conversations in L2	TOTAL	Never have contact with L2	Occasionally have casual conversations in L2	Occasionally have casual and serious conversations in L2	Often have casual conversations in L2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L2	Often have casual and serious conversations In L2	Occasionally have serious conversations in L2	Often have serious conversations in L2	Occasionally have casual and often serious conversations in L2	TOTAL
REPLY IN L1	N	15	9	2	1	0	5	2	0	1	35	67	10	1	6	0	2	0	0	0	86
	%	18,1	5,6	1,4	1,8	0,0	2,6	40,0	0,0	2,9	4,6	51,5	5,9	1,1	15,0	0,0	1,5	0,0	0,0	0,0	13,6
REPLY IN L2	N	68	153	145	56	74	188	3	4	33	724	63	160	87	34	52	136	2	1	13	548
	%	81,9	94,4	98,6	98,3	100	97,4	60,0	100	97,1	95,4	48,5	94,1	98,9	95,0	100	98,6	100	100	100	86,4
TOTAL	N	83	162	147	57	74	193	5	4	34	759	130	170	88	40	52	138	2	1	13	634
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE C/8

REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS WHEN ADDRESSED IN THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE.
BY LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE.

LANGUAGE		AFRIKANERS							ESSAS						
Place of Residence		Pretoria	Vaal Triangle	Johannesburg	Bloemfontein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town	Pretoria	Vaal Triangle	Johannesburg	Bloemfontein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town
REPLY IN L1	N	12	0	5	5	0	1	5	2	1	28	1	29	8	16
	%	7,6	0,0	3,2	8,1	0,0	1,8	5,5	6,3	11,1	16,4	6,3	27,4	10,3	10,9
REPLY IN L2	N	145	61	150	57	12	55	86	30	8	143	15	77	70	131
	%	92,4	100	96,8	91,9	100	98,2	94,5	93,8	88,9	83,6	93,8	72,6	89,7	89,1
TOTAL	N	157	61	155	62	12	56	91	32	9	171	16	106	78	147
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE D.1

RESPONDENTS WHO SOMETIMES CONSCIOUSLY AVOID A SITUATION BECAUSE THEY WOULD BE EXPECTED TO SPEAK 2ND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND SEX

		Sex			Language			Afrikaners Language and Sex			ESSAS		
		M	F	Total	Afrikaners	Essas	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
YES	N	145	266	411	216	195	411	67	149	216	78	117	195
	%	21,2	30,5	26,4	24,2	29,3	26,4	17,0	30,0	24,2	27,0	31,1	29,3
NO	N	539	607	1146	676	470	1146	328	348	676	211	259	470
	%	78,8	69,5	73,6	75,8	70,7	73,6	83,0	70,0	75,8	73,0	68,9	70,7
TOTAL	N	703	904	1607	918	689	1607	406	512	918	297	392	689
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE D.2

RESPONDENTS WHO SOMETIMES CONSCIOUSLY AVOID A SITUATION BECAUSE THEY WOULD BE EXPECTED TO SPEAK 2ND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND AGE

Language		AFRIKANERS						ESSAS					
Age		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	Total	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	Total
YES	N	50	66	39	33	27	215	35	40	30	37	52	194
	%	39,1	28,7	18,0	19,8	18,5	24,2	36,5	26,7	25,0	27,6	32,3	29,3
NO	N	78	164	178	134	119	673	61	110	90	97	109	467
	%	60,9	71,3	82,0	80,2	81,5	75,8	63,5	73,3	75,0	72,4	67,7	70,7
TOTAL	N	128	230	217	167	146	888	96	1150	120	134	161	661
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE D.3

RESPONDENTS WHO SOMETIMES CONSCIOUSLY AVOID A SITUATION BECAUSE THEY WOULD BE EXPECTED TO SPEAK 2ND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Language		AFRIKANERS				ESSAS			
Status		UPPER	MIDDLE	LOWER	TOTAL	UPPER	MIDDLE	LOWER	TOTAL
YES	N	46	65	76	187	63	67	33	163
	%	18,9	20,1	35,4	23,9	26,3	29,9	34,7	29,2
NO	N	198	258	139	595	177	157	62	396
	%	81,2	79,9	64,7	76,1	73,8	70,1	65,3	70,8
TOTAL	N	244	323	215	782	240	224	95	559
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE D.4

RESPONDENTS WHO SOMETIMES CONSCIOUSLY AVOID A SITUATION BECAUSE THEY WOULD BE EXPECTED TO SPEAK 2ND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND BILINGUALITY.

Language		AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
Bilinguality		Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot Speak L2	Total	Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot Speak L2	Total
YES	N	14	89	78	3	184	7	27	117	27	178
	%	4,4	28,2	53,4	100	23,6	5,6	12,8	51,5	57,5	29,2
NO	N	302	227	68	0	597	118	184	110	20	432
	%	95,6	71,8	46,6	0,0	76,4	94,4	87,4	48,5	42,6	70,8
TOTAL	N	316	316	146	3	78,1	125	211	227	47	610
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE D.5

RESPONDENTS WHO SOMETIMES CONSCIOUSLY AVOID A SITUATION BECAUSE THEY WOULD BE EXPECTED TO SPEAK 2ND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE BACKGROUND.

		AFRIKANERS							ESSAS						
		Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL	Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL
YES	N	23	86	62	2	6	0	179	20	66	69	2	3	2	162
	%	8,9	26,5	43,7	5,1	54,6	0,0	23,0	18,4	34,9	46,6	4,9	23,1	4,9	29,9
NO	N	236	239	80	37	5	3	600	89	123	79	39	10	39	379
	%	91,1	73,5	56,3	94,9	45,5	100	77,0	81,7	65,1	53,4	95,1	76,9	95,1	70,1
TOTAL	N	259	325	142	39	11	3	779	109	189	148	41	13	41	541
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE D.6

RESPONDENTS WHO SOMETIMES CONSCIOUSLY AVOID A SITUATION BECAUSE THEY WOULD BE EXPECTED TO SPEAK 2ND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE.

Language		AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
Had L2 contact		Whole Period	Up to 18 years	From 18 years	Never	Total	Whole Period	Up to 18 years	From 18 years	Never	Total
YES	N	83	6	24	25	138	79	8	38	36	161
	%	17,4	12,5	31,6	56,8	21,4	21,1	32,0	44,7	50,7	29,0
NO	N	394	42	52	19	509	296	17	47	35	395
	%	82,6	87,5	68,4	43,2	78,6	78,9	68,0	55,3	49,3	71,0
TOTAL	N	477	48	76	44	645	375	25	85	71	556
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE D.7

RESPONDENTS WHO SOMETIMES CONSCIOUSLY AVOID A SITUATION BECAUSE THEY WOULD BE EXPECTED TO SPEAK 2ND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT (I.E. CURRENT CONTACT WITH L_2)

		AFRIKANERS										ESSAS									
		Never have contact with L_2	Occasionally have casual conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual conversation in L_2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have serious conversations in L_2	Often have serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and often serious conversations in L_2	TOTAL	Never have contact with L_2	Occasionally have casual conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual conversations in L_2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have serious conversations in L_2	Often have serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and often serious conversations in L_2	TOTAL
YES	N	42	63	26	16	5	12	4	0	4	172	59	72	13	16	7	9	0	0	3	179
	%	51,6	39,1	17,8	28,1	6,9	6,3	66,7	0,0	11,8	22,8	47,6	44,2	14,8	41,0	13,7	6,5	0,0	0,0	23,1	28,9
NO	N	39	98	120	41	68	180	2	4	30	582	65	91	75	23	44	129	2	1	10	440
	%	48,2	60,9	82,2	71,9	93,2	93,8	33,3	100	88,2	77,2	52,4	55,8	85,2	59,0	86,3	93,5	100	100	76,9	71,1
TOTAL	N	81	161	146	57	73	192	6	4	34	754	124	163	88	39	51	138	2	1	13	619
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE D/8

RESPONDENTS WHO SOMETIMES CONSCIOUSLY AVOID A SITUATION BECAUSE THEY WOULD BE EXPECTED TO SPEAK 2ND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

LANGUAGE		AFRIKANERS							ESSAS						
Place of Residence		Pretoria	Vaal Triangle	Johannesburg	Bloemfontein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town	Pretoria	Vaal Triangle	Johannesburg	Bloemfontein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town
YES	N	47	18	23	21	3	10	17	6	4	52	1	37	24	41
	%	30,3	29,0	15,0	35,0	25,0	17,9	19,1	18,8	50,0	31,0	6,3	35,9	32,4	28,7
NO	N	108	44	130	39	9	46	72	26	4	116	15	66	50	102
	%	69,7	71,0	85,0	65,0	75,0	82,1	80,9	81,3	50,0	69,1	93,8	64,1	67,6	71,3
TOTAL	N	155	62	153	60	12	56	89	32	8	168	16	103	74	143
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE E/1

THE STANDARD OF PROFICIENCY IN L_2 GRAMMAR AMONG AFRIKANERS AND ESSAS: SELF-EVALUATION SCORES BY LANGUAGE AND AGE

A		AFRIKANERS						ESSAS					
AGE		18–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55 +	Totaal	18–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55 +	Total
Very Good	N	8	25	19	25	25	102	5	18	15	11	11	60
	%	7,5	12,6	10,4	18,1	19,7	13,5	5,8	12,9	13,2	8,8	7,0	9,6
Good	N	26	56	81	41	40	244	14	21	24	23	15	97
	%	24,3	28,1	44,5	29,7	31,5	32,4	16,3	15,0	21,1	18,4	9,6	15,6
Fairly Good	N	53	85	68	47	32	285	30	60	35	33	49	207
	%	49,5	42,7	37,4	34,1	25,2	37,8	34,9	42,9	30,7	26,4	31,2	33,3
Fairly weak	N	16	28	13	22	14	93	23	25	16	27	28	119
	%	15,0	14,1	7,1	15,9	11,0	12,4	26,7	17,9	14,0	21,6	17,8	19,1
Very Weak	N	3	4	1	3	14	25	11	12	17	25	25	90
	%	2,8	2,0	0,5	2,2	11,0	3,3	12,8	8,6	14,9	20,0	15,9	14,5
Cannot speak L_2	N	1	1	0	0	2	4	3	4	7	6	29	49
	%	0,9	0,5	0,0	0,0	1,6	0,5	3,5	2,9	6,1	4,8	18,5	7,9
Total	N	107	199	182	138	127	753	86	140	114	125	157	622
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE F/1

RESPONDENTS WHO WANT BOTH AN ACTIVE AND A PASSIVE COMMAND OF L_2.BY LANGUAGE AND SEX

		SEX			LANGUAGE			LANGUAGE AND SEX					
								AFRIKANERS			ESSAS		
		M	F	Total	Afrikaners	ESSAs	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Only understand written and spoken L_2	N	31	46	77	40	37	77	13	27	40	18	19	37
	%	4,6	5,3	5,0	4,5	5,7	5,0	3,3	5,4	4,5	6,4	5,1	5,7
Speak L_2 as well	N	612	777	1389	841	548	1389	373	468	841	239	309	548
	%	90,9	89,4	90,1	94,3	84,3	90,1	94,9	93,8	94,3	85,4	83,5	84,3
Neither alternative	N	30	46	76	11	65	76	7	4	11	23	42	65
	%	4,5	5,3	4,9	1,2	10,0	4,9	1,8	0,8	1,2	8,2	11,4	10,0
Total	N	673	869	1542	892	650	1542	393	499	892	280	370	650
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE F/2

RESPONDENTS WHO WANT BOTH AN ACTIVE AND A PASSIVE COMMAND OF L_2.

BY LANGUAGE AND AGE.

LANGUAGE		AFRIKANERS						ESSAS					
AGE		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	TOTAL	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	TOTAL
Only understand written and spoken L_2	N	9	4	3	4	1	21	9	3	4	2	6	24
	%	5,4	4,4	3,3	4,9	1,3	4,2	5,7	5,0	7,6	4,7	7,8	6,1
Speak L_2 as well	N	158	87	86	75	72	478	131	54	47	37	61	330
	%	94,6	95,6	93,5	92,6	96,0	94,5	82,4	90,0	88,7	86,1	79,2	84,2
Neither alternative	N	0	0	3	2	2	7	19	3	2	4	10	38
	%	0,0	0,0	3,3	2,5	2,7	1,4	12,0	5,0	3,8	9,3	13,0	9,7
TOTAL	N	167	91	92	81	75	506	159	60	53	43	77	392
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE F/3: RESPONDENTS WHO WANT BOTH AN ACTIVE AND A PASSIVE COMMAND OF L2 BY LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Language		AFRIKANERS				ESSAS			
Status		Upper	Middle	Lower	Total	Upper	Middle	Lower	Total
Only understand written and spoken L2	N	5	12	19	36	11	13	7	31
	%	2,1	3,7	8,7	4,6	4,6	5,9	7,8	5,6
Speak L2 as well	N	234	308	195	737	212	184	75	471
	%	96,7	95,4	89,5	94,1	88,7	82,9	83,3	85,5
Neither alternative	N	3	3	4	10	16	25	8	49
	%	1,2	0,9	1,8	1,3	6,7	11,3	8,9	8,9
Total	N	242	323	218	783	239	222	90	551
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE F/4: RESPONDENTS WHO WANT BOTH AN ACTIVE AND A PASSIVE COMMAND OF L2. BY LANGUAGE AND BILINGUALITY

Language		AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
Bilinguality		Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot Speak L2	Total	Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot speak L2	Total
Only understand written and spoken L2	N	5	6	16	0	27	6	9	17	3	35
	%	1,7	2,0	11,0	0,0	3,6	5,4	4,5	7,7	6,8	6,1
Speak L2 as well	N	283	298	128	2	711	102	184	178	23	487
	%	96,3	97,4	87,7	66,7	94,9	91,1	92,5	80,9	52,3	84,7
Neither alternative	N	6	2	2	1	11	4	6	25	18	53
	%	2,0	0,7	1,4	33,3	1,5	3,6	3,0	11,4	40,9	9,2
Total	N	294	306	146	3	749	112	199	220	44	575
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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TABLE F/5

RESPONDENTS WHO WANT BOTH AN ACTIVE AND A PASSIVE COMMAND OF L2. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

LANGUAGE		AFRIKANERS							ESSAS						
		Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL	Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL
Only understand written and spoken L2	N	8	9	16	3	0	0	36	6	10	10	2	1	1	30
	%	3,1	2,8	10,8	7,9	0,0	0,0	4,6	5,8	5,2	6,8	5,1	7,7	2,6	5,6
Speak L2 as well	N	248	312	129	35	10	3	737	94	171	104	35	11	35	450
	%	95,0	96,6	87,2	92,1	100,0	100,0	94,1	91,3	89,1	70,3	89,7	84,6	92,1	84,4
Neither alternative	N	5	2	3	0	0	0	10	3	11	34	2	1	2	53
	%	1,9	0,6	2,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,3	2,9	5,7	23,0	5,1	7,7	5,3	9,9
Total	N	261	323	148	38	10	3	783	103	192	148	39	13	38	533
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE F/6

RESPONDENTS WHO WANT BOTH AN ACTIVE AND A PASSIVE COMMAND OF L2. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE

Language		AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
Had L2 contact		whole period	up to 18 years	from 18 years	Never	Total	Whole period	Up to 18 years	From 18 years	Never	Total
Only understand written and spoken L2	N	17	1	5	6	29	20	1	5	4	30
	%	3,6	2,1	6,6	12,5	4,5	5,5	3,9	5,9	5,6	5,5
Speak L2 as well	N	450	45	71	40	606	332	19	68	42	461
	%	95,3	95,7	93,4	83,3	94,3	90,7	73,1	80,0	58,3	84,0
Neither alternative	N	5	1	0	2	8	14	6	12	26	58
	%	1,1	2,1	0,0	4,2	1,2	3,8	23,1	14,1	36,1	10,6
Total	N	472	47	76	48	643	366	26	85	72	549
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE F/7

RESPONDENTS WHO WANT BOTH AN ACTIVE AND A PASSIVE COMMAND OF L2
BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT (I.E. CURRENT CONTACT WITH L2)

		Never have contact with L_2	Occasionally have casual conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual conversations in L_2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have serious conversations in L_2	Often have serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and often serious conversations in L_2	TOTAL
AFRIKANERS											
Only understand written an spoken L2	N	16	6	2	1	1	4	0	0	1	31
	%	19,3	3,7	1,4	1,8	1,4	2,2	0,0	0,0	2,9	4,1
Speak L2 as well	N	65	154	141	55	73	179	5	3	32	707
	%	78,3	95,1	97,2	98,2	98,7	96,2	100,0	75,0	94,1	94,4
Neither alternative	N	2	2	2	0	0	3	0	1	1	11
	%	2,4	1,2	1,4	0,0	0,0	16,1	0,0	25,0	2,9	1,5
Total	N	83	162	145	56	74	186	5	4	34	749
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
ESSAS											
Only understand written and spoken L2	N	9	13	4	4	1	2	0	0	1	34
	%	7,4	7,8	4,7	10,5	2,0	1,5	0,0	0,0	7,7	5,6
Speak L2 as well	N	77	142	80	33	46	126	1	0	10	515
	%	63,1	85,0	94,1	86,8	93,9	95,5	50,0	0,0	76,9	84,7
Neither alternative	N	36	12	1	1	2	4	1	0	2	59
	%	29,5	7,2	1,2	2,6	4,1	3,0	50,0	0,0	15,4	9,7
Total	N	122	167	85	38	49	132	2	0	13	608
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	0,0	100	100

TABLE F/8

RESPONDENTS WHO WANT BOTH AN ACTIVE AND A PASSIVE COMMAND OF L2. BY LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Language		AFRIKANERS							ESSAS						
Place of Residence		Pretoria	Vaal Triangle	Johannesburg	Bloemfontein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town	Pretoria	Vaal Triangle	Johannesburg	Bloemfontein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town
Only understand written and spoken L2	N	11	3	6	2	0	3	5	1	1	11	1	5	3	8
	%	7,1	5,0	4,0	3,3	0,0	5,4	5,6	3,2	14,3	6,7	6,3	5,0	4,2	5,7
Speak L2 as well	N	138	57	144	59	11	52	84	26	6	138	13	81	60	117
	%	89,6	95,0	94,7	96,7	100,0	92,9	93,3	83,4	85,7	83,6	81,3	80,2	84,5	83,0
Neither alternative	N	5	0	2	0	0	1	1	4	0	16	2	15	8	16
	%	3,3	0,0	1,3	0,0	0,0	1,8	1,1	12,9	0,0	9,7	12,5	14,9	11,3	11,4
Total	N	154	60	152	61	11	56	90	31	7	165	16	101	71	141
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE G/1

RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THEY WOULD LIKE TO IMPROVE THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND SEX

		Sex			Language			Language and Sex					
								Afrikaners			ESSAs		
		M	F	Total	Afrikaners	ESSAs	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Yes	N	403	440	843	351	492	843	187	164	351	216	276	492
	%	61,3	53,7	57,1	41,5	77,8	57,1	49,3	35,2	41,5	77,7	78,0	77,8
No	N	254	380	634	494	140	634	192	302	494	62	78	140
	%	38,7	46,3	42,9	58,5	22,2	42,9	50,7	64,8	58,5	22,3	22,0	22,2
Total	N	657	820	1477	845	632	1477	379	466	845	278	354	632
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE G/2

RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THEY WOULD LIKE TO IMPROVE THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND AGE

Language		AFRIKANERS						ESSAS					
Age		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	Total	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	Total
Yes	N	31	77	89	74	78	349	76	120	88	94	112	490
	%	24,6	35,2	44,1	47,1	56,9	41,5	80,9	83,3	77,2	76,4	72,3	77,8
No	N	95	142	113	83	59	492	18	24	26	29	43	140
	%	75,4	64,8	55,9	52,9	43,1	58,5	19,1	16,7	22,8	23,6	27,7	22,2
Total	N	126	219	202	157	137	841	94	144	114	123	155	630
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE G/3

RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THEY WOULD LIKE TO IMPROVE THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Language		AFRIKANERS				ESSAS			
Status		Upper	Middle	Lower	Total	Upper	Middle	Lower	Total
Yes	N	94	133	86	313	184	165	70	419
	%	39,3	43,6	43,2	42,1	79,7	79,0	77,0	78,9
No	N	145	172	113	430	47	44	21	112
	%	60,7	56,4	56,8	57,9	20,4	21,1	23,1	21,1
Total	N	239	305	199	743	231	209	91	531
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE G/4

RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THYE WOULD LIKE TO IMPROVE THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND BILINGUALITY

Language		AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
Bilinguality		Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot Speak L2	Total	Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot Speak L2	Total
Yes	N	209	77	23	0	309	77	174	181	22	454
	%	67,7	25,9	16,1	0,0	41,1	65,3	84,9	81,9	55,0	77,7
No	N	100	221	120	2	443	41	31	40	18	130
	%	32,4	74,2	83,9	100,0	58,9	34,8	15,1	18,1	45,0	22,3
Total	N	309	298	143	2	752	118	205	221	40	584
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE G/5

RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THEY WOULD LIKE TO IMPROVE THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

		AFRIKANERS							ESSAS						
		Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occassionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occassionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL	Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occassionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occassionally spke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL
Yes	N	144	83	47	27	2	3	306	81	155	102	27	10	25	400
	%	56,9	27,7	33,8	71,1	22,2	100,0	41,2	78,6	83,8	71,3	73,0	76,9	67,6	77,2
No	N	109	217	92	11	7	0	436	22	30	41	10	3	12	118
	%	43,1	72,3	66,2	29,0	77,8	0,0	58,8	21,4	16,2	28,7	27,0	23,1	32,4	22,8
Total	N	253	300	139	38	9	3	742	103	185	143	37	13	37	518
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE G/6

RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THEY WOULD LIKE TO IMPROVE THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE

Language		AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
Head L_2 contact		Whole period	Up to 18 years	From 18 years	Never	Total	Whole period	Up to 18 years	From 18 years	Never	Total
Yes	N	206	21	32	11	270	285	20	66	40	411
	%	45,3	46,7	43,2	25,6	43,8	79,6	80,0	77,7	60,6	77,0
No	N	249	24	42	32	347	73	5	19	26	123
	%	54,7	53,3	56,8	74,4	56,2	20,4	20,0	22,4	39,4	23,0
Total	N	455	45	74	43	617	358	25	85	66	534
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE G/7

RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THEY WOULD LIKE TO IMPROVE THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT

		Never have contact with L_2	Occassionally have casual conversations in L_2	Occassionally have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual conversations in L_2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have serious conversations in L_2	Often have serious conversations in L_2	Occassionally have casual and often serious conversations in L_2	TOTAL
AFRIKANERS											
Yes	N	25	34	58	17	25	121	2	2	19	303
	%	33,3	22,4	41,1	30,9	36,2	64,0	40,0	66,7	55,9	41,9
No	N	50	118	83	38	44	68	3	1	15	420
	%	66,7	77,6	58,9	69,1	63,7	36,0	60,0	33,3	44,1	58,1
Total	N	75	152	141	55	69	189	5	3	34	723
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
ESSAS											
Yes	N	74	133	70	29	38	102	1	1	12	460
	%	67,9	81,6	82,4	80,6	77,6	76,7	50,0	100,0	92,3	77,8
No	N	35	30	15	7	11	31	1	0	1	131
	%	32,1	18,4	17,7	19,4	22,5	23,3	50,0	0,0	7,7	22,2
Total	N	109	163	85	36	49	133	2	1	13	591
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 6/8

RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THEY WOULD LIKE TO IMPROVE THEIR SECOND LANGUAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Place of Residence		Pretoria	Vaal Triangle	Johannesburg	Bloemfontein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town
				AFRIKANERS				
Yes	N	49	24	69	21	7	23	41
	%	34,3	42,9	46,9	36,2	63,6	44,2	47,1
No	N	94	32	78	37	4	29	46
	%	65,7	57,1	53,1	63,8	36,4	55,8	52,9
Total	N	143	56	147	58	11	52	87
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
				ESSAS				
Yes	N	25	5	118	12	75	53	113
	%	83,3	83,3	73,3	85,7	77,3	73,6	82,5
No	N	5	1	43	2	22	19	24
	%	16,7	16,7	26,7	14,3	22,7	26,4	17,5
Total	N	30	6	161	14	97	72	137
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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TABLE H/1

RESPONDENTS WHO, DURING 1972/73 TOOK POSITIVE STEPS TO IMPROVE THEIR USE OF L_2. BY LANGUAGE AND SEX

		Sex			Language			Language and Sex					
								Afrikaners			ESSAs		
		M	F	Total	Afrikaners	ESSAs	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Yes	N	317	350	667	537	130	667	250	287	537	67	63	130
	%	47,8	42,5	44,9	64,2	20,0	44,9	66,7	62,1	64,2	23,3	17,5	20,0
No	N	346	473	819	300	519	819	125	175	300	221	298	519
	%	52,2	57,5	55,1	35,8	80,0	55,1	33,3	37,9	35,8	76,7	82,6	80,0
Total	N	663	823	1486	837	649	1486	375	462	837	288	361	649
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE H/2

RESPONDENTS WHO, DURING 1972/73 TOOK POSITIVE STEPS TO IMPROVE THEIR USE OF L_2. BY LANGUAGE AND AGE

Language		AFRIKANERS						ESSAS					
Age		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	Total	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	Total
Yes	N	105	58	57	52	44	316	35	16	18	5	16	90
	%	66,5	67,4	62,0	67,5	63,8	65,6	22,7	25,8	34,0	11,4	19,8	22,8
No	N	53	28	35	25	25	166	119	46	35	39	65	304
	%	33,5	32,6	38,0	32,5	36,2	34,4	77,3	74,2	66,0	88,6	80,3	77,2
Total	N	158	86	92	77	69	482	154	62	53	44	81	394
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE H/3

RESPONDENTS WHO, DURING 1972/73 TOOK POSITIVE STEPS TO IMPROVE THEIR USE OF L_2. BY LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Language		AFRIKANERS				ESSAS			
Status		Upper	Middle	Lower	Total	Upper	Middle	Lower	Total
Yes	N	167	198	114	479	61	36	12	109
	%	70,8	64,9	58,2	65,0	26,2	61,5	13,0	20,1
No	N	69	107	82	258	172	182	80	434
	%	29,2	35,1	41,8	35,0	73,8	83,5	87,0	79,9
Total	N	236	305	196	737	233	218	92	543
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE H/4

RESPONDENTS WHO, DURING 1972/73 TOOK POSITIVE STEPS TO IMPROVE THEIR USE OF L_2. BY LANGUAGE AND BILINGUALITY

Language		AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
Bilinguality		Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot Speak L_2	Total	Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot speak L_2	Total
Yes	N	198	186	63	0	447	32	48	33	3	116
	%	70,2	64,1	44,1	0,0	62,3	28,1	24,2	15,1	7,3	20,3
No	N	84	104	80	3	271	82	150	186	38	456
	%	29,8	35,9	55,9	100	37,7	71,9	75,8	84,9	92,7	79,7
Total	N	282	290	143	3	718	114	198	219	41	572
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE H/5

RESPONDENTS WHO, DURING 1972/73 TOOK POSITIVE STEPS TO IMPROVE THEIR USE OF L_2. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

		AFRIKANERS							ESSAS						
		Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occassionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL	Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occassionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL
Yes	N	165	196	74	27	6	3	471	27	43	21	11	2	7	111
	%	68,8	63,2	52,9	75,0	60,0	100,0	63,7	25,2	22,6	14,2	29,0	15,4	18,9	20,8
No	N	75	114	66	9	4	0	268	80	147	127	27	11	30	422
	%	31,3	36,8	47,1	25,0	40,0	0	36,3	74,8	77,4	85,8	71,1	84,6	81,1	79,2
Total	N	240	310	140	36	10	3	739	107	190	148	38	13	37	533
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE H/6

RESPONDENTS WHO, DURING 1972/73 TOOK POSITIVE STEPS TO IMPROVE THEIR USE OF L_2. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE

Language		AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
Had L_2 contact		Whole period	Up to 18 years	From 18 years	Never	Total	Whole period	Up to 18 years	From 18 years	Never	Total
Yes	N	301	26	46	13	386	82	5	17	5	109
	%	66,7	54,2	63,0	30,0	62,7	22,6	18,5	20,0	7,1	20,0
No	N	150	22	27	31	230	281	22	68	65	436
	%	33,3	45,8	37,0	70,5	37,3	77,4	81,5	80,0	92,9	80,0
Total	N	451	48	73	44	616	363	27	85	70	545
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE H/7

RESPONDENTS WHO, DURING 1972/73 TOOK POSITIVE STEPS TO IMPROVE THEIR USE OF L_2. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT

AFRIKANERS

		Never have contact with L_2	Occasionally have casual conversations in L_2	Occassionally have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual conversations in L_2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Occassionally have serious conversations in L_2	Often have serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and often serious conversations in L_2	TOTAL
Yes	N	39	79	83	43	56	131	2	4	29	466
	%	50,0	51,6	59,7	75,4	80,0	71,2	50,0	100,0	85,3	64,5
No	N	39	74	56	14	14	53	2	0	5	257
	%	50,0	48,4	40,3	24,6	20,0	28,8	50,0	0,0	14,7	35,6
Total	N	78	153	139	57	70	184	4	4	34	723
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ESSAS

Yes	N	9	25	23	5	16	40	0	0	6	124
	%	7,6	15,2	26,4	3,9	32,7	29,6	0,0	0,0	46,2	20,5
No	N	109	140	64	31	33	95	2	1	7	482
	%	92,4	84,9	73,6	86,1	67,4	70,4	100,0	100,0	53,9	79,5
Total	N	118	165	87	36	49	135	2	1	13	606
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE H/8

RESPONDENTS WHO, DURING 1972/73 TOOK POSITIVE STEPS TO IMPROVE THEIR USE OF L_2. BY LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Place of Residence		Pretoria	Vaal Triangle	Johannesburg	Bloemfontein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town
AFRIKANERS								
Yes	N	86	28	100	45	9	39	56
	%	60,1	52,8	67,6	75,0	81,8	72,2	67,5
No	N	57	25	48	15	2	15	27
	%	39,9	47,1	32,4	25,0	18,2	27,8	32,5
Total	N	143	53	148	60	11	54	83
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
ESSAS								
Yes	N	5	2	32	4	18	17	30
	%	17,2	28,6	19,8	25,0	17,3	23,6	21,3
No	N	24	5	130	12	86	55	111
	%	82,8	71,4	80,3	75,0	82,7	76,4	78,7
Total	N	29	7	162	16	104	72	141
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE I/1

THE NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO POSSESS AN L_2 DICTIONARY. BY LANGUAGE AND SEX.

		Sex			Language			Language and Sex Afrikaners			Language and Sex ESSAs		
		M	F	Total	Afrikaners	ESSAs	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Yes	N	569	706	1275	747	528	1275	334	413	747	235	293	528
	%	83,2	80,9	81,9	84,2	78,8	81,9	85,2	83,4	84,2	80,5	77,5	78,8
No	N	115	167	282	140	142	282	58	82	140	57	85	142
	%	16,8	19,1	18,1	15,8	21,2	18,1	14,8	16,6	15,8	19,5	22,5	21,2
Total	N	684	873	1557	887	670	1557	392	495	887	292	378	670
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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TABLE I/2

THE NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO POSSESS AN L_2. BY LANGUAGE AND AGE.

Language		AFRIKANERS						ESSAS					
Age		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	Total	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	Total
Yes	N	109	181	191	155	111	747	78	113	100	116	121	528
	%	83,9	80,1	89,3	91,7	75,0	84,2	81,3	75,8	82,0	87,2	71,2	78,8
No	N	21	45	23	14	37	140	18	36	22	17	49	142
	%	16,1	19,9	10,7	8,3	25,0	15,8	18,7	24,2	18,0	12,8	28,8	21,2
Total	N	130	226	214	169	148	887	96	149	122	133	170	670
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE I/3

THE NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO POSSES AN L_2 DICTIONARY. BY LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Language		AFRIKANERS				ESSAS			
Status		Upper	Middle	Lower	Total	Upper	Middle	Lower	Total
Yes	N	234	271	147	652	206	171	67	444
	%	95,9	84,7	70,0	84,2	84,1	76,3	72,0	79,0
No	N	10	49	63	122	39	53	26	118
	%	4,1	15,3	30,0	15,8	15,9	23,7	28,0	21,0
Total	N	244	320	210	774	245	224	93	562
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE I/4

THE NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO POSSES AN L_2 DICTIONARY. BY LANGUAGE AND BILINGUALITY

Language		AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
Bilinguality		Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot Speak L_2	Total	Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot Speak L_2	Total
Yes	N	279	261	105	0	645	104	176	164	26	470
	%	93,0	85,9	73,4	0,0	85,9	86,0	87,6	74,9	54,2	79,8
No	N	21	43	38	4	106	17	25	55	22	119
	%	7,0	14,1	26,6	100,0	14,1	14,1	12,4	25,1	45,8	20,2
Total	N	300	304	143	4	751	121	201	219	48	589
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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RGN-PUBLIKASIES SEDERT 1 JANUARIE 1977
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